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## GORBACHEV RESPONDS TO CALL ON DISARAMENT

LD111406 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has sent a reply to the joint statement of the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden. The message says:

It is with great interest that I familiarized myself with the joint statement of the leaders of six states of 22 May 1987. I fully share its passionate appeal to begin, at long last, the process of nuclear disarmament, thus laying the foundations for a more secure world, to save future generations from the nightmare of nuclear disaster.

There is no doubt that, given the political will, it is possible to achieve far-reaching agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament. By its practical deeds and large-scale initiatives, the USSR has convincingly proven that it has this will. It is reflected in what is possibly the most concrete and eloquent way by the USSR's approach to the problem of medium range missiles.

Our recent proposals on this score, as well as those on the operation and tactical missiles which take maximum account of the interests of the United States and of its West European allies have, it would seem, removed all the obstacles and have brought the talks on medium-range missiles into the finishing straight.

However, the nervousness with which some in the West received the prospect, the real prospect, of reaching agreement on medium range missiles has given rise to serious doubts about the sincerity of the previous assurances given by some West European governments about their interest in completely eliminating the Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles from the European zone.

Nevertheless, we have not lost hope that common sense will triumph and that the above prospect wil become a reality. Thus, for the first time since nuclear arms appeared, an extraordinary important step would be made along the difficult but the only sensible path for mankind: the complete and universal elimination of nuclear arms.

The USSR will spare no effort to ensure that a mutually acceptable Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium range missiles is worked out and signed in short time on the basis of the basic accord reached in Reykjavik. It is precisely this task that has been given to the USSR's delegation to the talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva. It is now up to our partners whom we expect to meet us half-way.

I have repeatedly had occasion to set out the USSR's position regarding the absolute impermissibility of spreading the arms race into space and our assessments of the U.S. SDI program, which poses an extreme threat to the cause of peace. The truth is unequivocal here: Taking arms into space would irreversibly lead to an increase in mutual lack of trust, would whip up the arms race, and would make peace even more vulnerable.

We resolutely reject the Star Wars plans, and we oppose them with a set of initiatives aimed at establishing broad cooperation in the peaceful research into and conquest of space in the interests of the whole of mankind.

The Soviet Union is striving to convince the United States of the need for all-round strengthening of the ABM Treaty, which makes up the main foundation for accords on substantial reductions in strategic offensive weapons. It must be extremely clear that if this treaty is not preserved in full, then such reductions will not be possible. To avoid undermining agreements on strategic offensive weapons through putting weapons into space, we consider that the USSR and the United States should undertake a pledge not to withdraw from the treaty for 10 years, and also agree on a list of space-based devices which would be banned from space in that period, including for the purposes of testing.

I expect the world public is well aware of our principled position on the question of nuclear tests. I repeat what I have said before: The ending of the unilateral moratorium that lasted more than 18 months by the Soviet Union, was a forced decision, one imposed upon us. We repeatedly invited the United States to begin full-scale talks on a total end to nuclear tests with strict international verification [kontrol], including on-site inspections. As first steps toward this main goal, during such talks, it would be possible to examine issues of ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaties of 1974 and 1976, and those of substantial reductions in the thresholds for power and of nuclear explosions provided for by those treaties, with a simultaneous limitation of their quantity.

With the aim of promoting the speediest ratification of the aforesaid treaties, the USSR is prepared to come to agreement with the United States on staging the relevant calibrating experiments at each other's test sites.

We favor the use of both the national seismic apparatus of the two countries and means of seismic monitoring [kontrol] belonging to the six states in conducting such experiments -- of course if they agree to this. We are also prepared for immediate practical measures in connection with these talks, for example, reaching an interim understanding with the U.S. side on limiting the power of underground explosions, with a threshold of 1 kilotonne and the number of nuclear weapons tests to 2-3 a year.

In brief, the USSR has no shortage of good will. We are open to any constructive ideas that go in the direction of real disarmament. The noble aspirations of the leaders of the six states reflected in their joint statement not only meets with full understanding and active support from our side but also strengthens our confidence in the final triumph of human reason and spurs us on to even more energetic actions for the sake of realizing the dream of a nuclear-free world for the sake of preserving civilization on earth.

## KARPOV: WEST SEEKS TO PRESERVE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION

LD031712 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 3 Jun 87

[Text] Baku June 3 TASS -- What gives value to the debate at the international conference, "bilateral and collective talks on disarmament and their relationship," is a free and constructive exchange of views, Cesare Merlini, president of the Italian Institute of International Relations, believes. He works on the book dealing with the problems of the use of nuclear energy.

"The new thought patterns are being developed currently. They are generated by the realities of the nuclear age. And this is unprecedented. The nuclear power created both new opportunities for mankind and new factors of risk.

The possibility of a global holocaust compels governments to analyze deeper the situation before making any decisions," he told TASS.

Merlini mentioned the long period of peaceful development in Europe but at the same time advocated the policy of nuclear deterrence.

Viktor Karpov, head of the Arms Limitation and Disarmament Department of the USSR Foreign ministry, holds a different view on chances to preserve peace. "Mankind is faced with an alternative: either to continue following the path of the arms race and magnifying the war menace, or to embrace the Soviet Union's proposals and enter the new century without nuclear weapons," he said.

In ignoring the ripe need for new political approaches to problems of nuclear disarmament, Western countries seek to preserve the current explosive situation, said Riki Jaipal, delegate of India. The stand of the USSR, the new Soviet initiatives map out real ways towards peace without nuclear weapons.

## PAPER CITES CHERVOV, FALIN ON INF IN BERLIN

PM041243 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 27 May 87 p 5

[Rob Meines dispatch: "'The Dismantling of Missiles Will Take 2 Years'"]

[Text] East Berlin, 27 May -- The dismantling of all medium-range missiles in Europe is a complicated process that will take at least 2 years, General Nikolay Chervov of the Soviet General Staff said in East Berlin yesterday evening.

"In particular the procedure is technically complicated, and in addition continual reciprocal on-site inspection must be carried out." Both the Russian and the U.S. side have put forward proposals in Geneva on this point, the general said. One of the problems that must be solved is where the warheads will be destroyed. "Given the thrust of the current discussion it looks as if this will happen on each side's own territory."

Without being asked, General Chervov also said that the Soviet side would not demand the dismantling of the Bundeswehr's 72 Pershing-1A missiles. "There are claims in the Western press that we will make such demands. That is untrue. It is true we have proposed that these missiles' warheads, which are currently deployed in U.S. stockpiles in the FRG, must be returned to the United States. We have said nothing about the missiles themselves."

This clarification by General Chervov opens up a new prospect for the West German Government, which wants to retain these missiles with a range of around 740 km even in the event of the implementation of a double zero option. Up to now opposition circles in the FRG have assumed that Moscow would not accept this.

In a tradition that has gradually been taken over from the Americans, Genral Chervov gave a news conference in East Berlin on the eve of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in the GDR. He did so together with Soviet NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY chairman and former Bonn Ambassador Valentin Falin. The Soviet leader is due to arrive from Romania this morning.

Tomorrow and Friday there will be a summit meeting of the leaders of the members of the Warsaw Pact. New disarmament proposals are expected to come from the summit; in Western political circles there is speculation that the summit could put forward unilateral proposals in the field of conventional arms. There is talk, for example, of the withdrawal from the GDR and Czechoslovakia of a number of Soviet divisions.

Confirmation of this speculation is being seen in a statement on the occasion of Gorbachev's arrival in East Berlin from GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman Wolfgang Meyer. Ambassador Meyer said the summit will discuss "practical steps and measures for arms limitation and disarmament, the creation of a nuclear-free world, and an all-embracing system of international security. This covers proposals for a drastic reduction of military forces and weapons of all types."

At yesterday's news conference Valentin Falin was unwilling to answer questions on this point. He said he knew of the speculations on the Western side. "There are people who expect that after a whole list of proposals in which we have made major concessions to the West we will make yet another present of unilateral reductions. Just wait, you will be a lot wiser in 3 days, then you will know what the philosophy and the thinking of the Warsaw Pact states are and how far we are prepared to go to achieve greater stability and greater security for everyone in Europe," Falin said.

However, Western circles see East Berlin as a good place to take such an arms reduction step. In the GDR there are 380,000 Soviet soldiers with 6,500 tanks, including the very modern T-80, and strong air force forces, including the MIG-29 which is equipped with cruise missiles. [type MIG-29 is uitgerust met kruisraketten]

However, in the view of General Chervov there is no suggestion at all of a Soviet conventional superiority. There is at most "asymmetry." "As a result of historical developments we have -- speaking honestly -- more tanks. But the West has more tactical air forces, more combat helicopters, and more antitank artillery."

General Chervov said he is optimistic there will be an agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe, on both shorter- and longer-range missiles. "All the obstacles to such an agreement have been removed." However, in Chervov's view "complicating elements" are contained in the talk of "rebuilding" the Pershing-2 missile from a longer-range intermediate missile into one for shorter ranges.

Another difficulty for the Soviet Union is the idea aired in the United States of removing the nuclear warheads from the cruise missiles deployed in Europe, but allowing the missiles to remain in Europe and equip them with conventional warheads. "Both types of missiles could be returned to their original nuclear capability within 24 hours," he said.

Chervov said he is also "concerned" about U.S. statements on the termination in 1994 of the ABM Treaty limiting antimissile systems. "That would mean the United States would introduce space weapons and if this happens there will be no reduction of strategic nuclear arms and a crucial opportunity for mankind will be lost."

According to Chervov Moscow would be very willing to negotiate a reduction in the nuclear arms in Europe with a range of less than 500 km -- nuclear arms that are not covered by the proposed double zero option, ideally within the framework of conventional arms reductions.

"You can just as easily load battlefield artillery with a nucler shell as with a conventional explosive. That is why you must discuss battlefield nuclear arms in the framework of conventional arms. Troop reductions are also relevant for these weapons. If you withdraw a division, its battlefield nuclear arms disappear with it."

## CHERVOV: SOVIET INITIATIVE BASIS FOR BREAKTHROUGH

AU211935 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 May 87 p 4

[Article by Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, head of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces: "The United States Raises Obstacles on the Road to Solving the Euromissiles Problem"]

[Text] The Soviet initiative on the medium-range missiles in Europe creates the basis for a breakthrough in solving the issues of disarament. Now there is nothing which could prevent reaching an agreement from which all of Europe would benefit: We mean the elimination of more than 700 units of the most destabilizing arms -- the medium-range missiles (USSR -- 355 units and the United States -- 380 units), and more than 1,200 warheads carried by these missiles.

It is difficult to openly object to this proposal. However, this is what put us on the alert: Recently, official representatives of the United States and many NATO countries started to advance the thesis on some "hidden dangers" of the Soviet proposal on the Euromissiles.

"...Thus a paradox emerged," noted Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech of 10 April. "Now some politicians and their governments are running away from their own 'zero option' as if it were some sinister power, and are trying to link the solution of the medium-range missiles issue with all kinds of conditions and qualifications."

The U.S. approach to the medium-range missiles issue is not a sincere one. This approach has some features that cause complications and must be removed if the U.S. is really interested in achieving a mutually acceptable agreement. What do we have in mind? The U.S. is trying to achieve the following things:

a) To preserve the "Pershing-2" medium-range missiles, and instead of eliminating them to convert them into missiles with a shorter range. In other words, to replace one type of missile by another. This is tantamount to beginning a new cycle of deploying missiles in Europe;

b) To move the ground-based cruise missile to military vessels, or to convert them into conventional missiles;

c) To preserve the existing medium-range missile bases; in other words, to leave their infrastructure intact so new medium-range missiles can be deployed at any time;

d) To carry verification issues to absurd, while simultaneously excluding adequate verification on U.S. territory.

The claims of some officials in the United States and the NATO countries about the existence of an "unanswerable threat" for Western Europe on the part of the USSR strategic nuclear systems, medium-range aircraft, and operational and tactical missiles, are completely groundless. [paragraph continues]

An analogous and ever greater threat on the part of the United States and the NATO countries exists for the USSR. Parity exists between the USSR and U.S. strategic strike weapons. In Reykjavik Mikhail Gorbachev handed Ronald Reagan a chart of comparative data on strategic arms, for the period around 11 October 1986. The U.S. side accepted the information included in the chart. According to it, the USSR has a few more carriers (USSR -- 2,480, U.S. -- 2,208), but on the other hand the United States, as before, has more warheads (USSR -- 10,000, U.S. -- 14,800).

About what Soviet threat can one speak in light of this data?

The situation with the medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe is as follows: The United States and NATO have 588 missiles ("Pershing-2" -- 108, cruise missiles -- 272, British missiles -- 64, and French missiles -- 114). The USSR has 355 missiles [SS-20 -- 243 and SS-4 -- 112). The number of missiles and the quantity of warheads in the NATO states is larger and not smaller than that of the USSR. NATO has an obvious advantage in the area of medium-range aircraft. Having a greater quantity of nuclear delivery systems and warheads than the Warsaw Pact, NATO nevertheless talks about the "Soviet threat."

In addition, the Soviet leadership announced that after signing an agreement on limiting the USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, the USSR will withdraw from the GDR and the CSSR the long-range operational and tactical missiles, that were placed there in response to the deployment of the "Pershing-2" and cruise missiles.

To facilitate the immediate conclusion of an agreement we propose to begin discussions on limiting and subsequently eliminating the missiles with a range of 500-1,000 km. stationed on the European continent without attaching this to the progress and outcome of the medium-range missiles issue.

The West already considers insufficient the preconditions and qualifications that it devised. Then, they are considering whether to link the solution of the medium-range missiles also to the preliminary solution of the issue of conventional weapons. Thus they want to create a vicious circle, from which there is no way out.

For 10 months already the United States and NATO have not answered the Budapest appeal on limiting conventional weapons in Europe. Simultaneously, they announce that the superiority of the Warsaw Pact in conventional weapons precludes the possibility of relinquishing nuclear weapons. How do they construct the so-called superiority? They exclude from their calculations the armed forces of France and Spain; ignore in their calculations of Western capacities the reserve units, and stockpiles of weapons and equipment; and artificially increase the Warsaw Pact's number of weapons, while reducing those of NATO.

The truth is that the Warsaw Pact and NATO have an approximately equal number of artillery personnel. To a certain degree, the Warsaw Pact has more armored equipment than NATO; however, NATO has an advantage in everything related to the number of combat-ready divisions, anti-tank capabilities, and fighter-bombers. In general, there is an approximate parity in the area of conventional weapons.

If we look at the issue through the eyes of the USSR, then we will see that, unlike the U.S., the USSR is threatened by a dual strike -- both by the strategic systems and by the U.S. forward-based means. The USSR and the other socialist countries are surrounded by a system of 1,600 U.S. military bases and installations. We have no equivalent to the United States in military bases and installations. [paragraph continues]

In addition, there are the nuclear capabilities of Great Britain and France (about 600 warheads, whose number will double by 1995). The USSR does not include these nuclear means in the balance of power with the United States, despite the fact that these means are aimed at targets on Soviet territory. This is the real picture. An unequivocal conclusion emerges; the United States and its allies are deliberately complicating the negotiations on the medium-range missiles and on weapons in Europe in general.

## NATO COUNCIL SESSION OPENS IN REYKJAVIK

LD111753 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1148 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Reykjavik, 11 Jun (TASS) -- TASS special correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

A 2-day session of the NATO Council at the level of ministers of foreign affairs of the 16 member countries of this military-political bloc opened here today. The main items in its work, as reported by the secretary general of the alliance Lord Carrington, will be issues connected with East-West relations. It is proposed to thoroughly discuss all aspects of the latter. The bulletin NOUVELLES ATLANTIQUES, which is close to NATO, writes that the leaders of the bloc have been alarmed by "Moscow's powerful peace offensive," which has been given an understanding reception by the West's populations.

What will no doubt be the focus of attention of those taking part in the session are the Soviet proposals for eliminating medium-range missiles and operational and tactical missiles in Europe. Today, all the countries of the alliance already support these proposals. The London FINANCIAL TIMES asserts that "following prolonged discussion among the NATO allies of the Soviet proposals, the way to a Soviet-U.S. agreement on these types of weapons is now clear."

One would like to believe that, because in the beginning the Soviet proposals met with a plainly hostile response from a number of countries, including France, the FRG and Great Britain. They clearly frightened the Atlantists, thus showing that the NATO bloc is still not prepared to reduce nuclear missiles weapons, and that the inability to rise above old prejudices still has the upper hand there.

The outcome of the lengthy consultations of the Western allies on the USSR's initiatives depended to a large extent on the FRG's position. This only became clear on 4 June. Bonn, although it joined in with the other alliance partners and supported the "double zero option" on INF and operational and tactical weapons, nevertheless refused to include in the draft agreement not only the Bundeswehr's Pershing-1A missiles, but also the U.S. warheads for them.

It is quite obvious approach opens a loophole for a new upgrading of NATO arms and will inhibit progress toward a mutually acceptable agreement on medium-range and operational and tactical missiles. There are fears that these linkages could affect the nature of the West's answer to the Soviet proposals.

The interest in the current session of the NATO Council is unsurprising: The session is being held at a time when, as a result of the Soviet peace initiatives, [words indistinct] have called upon the West to adopt a constructive stance not only on nuclear disarmament, but also on the reduction of conventional arms and the destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons; and also to hold consultations between the two military-political organisations to collate the military doctrines of the two alliances.

According to the Brussels bulletin NATO REPORT, it has been decided to include in the agenda of the NATO Council session the problem of reducing conventional armed forces and armaments and the question of the venue, form and membership of the new talks.

## Carrington 'Tough' Speech

LD112059 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Reykjavik June 11 TASS -- TASS special correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

The current session of the NATO Council is bound to determine the position of the North Atlantic Alliance on the concrete proposal on nuclear disarmament, elaborated on the basis of the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik in October last year, said Prime Minister of Iceland Steingrimur Hermannsson, speaking here today at the session opening ceremony. The session is attended by the foreign ministers of 16 NATO countries.

Honorary NATO Council chairman for 1987, Italy's Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti has said that it is now necessary to start "reducing the existing arsenals of armaments, but not deploying new ones". Meanwhile, he declared for preservation of the most substantial elements of NATO's "containment strategy", providing for reliance on nuclear weapons, and a possibility of their use. Giulio Andreotti admitted that the prospects of attaining an agreement on disarmament, that have now appeared, would have been impossible without the Soviet initiatives, the result of the policy of reconstruction and innovations which are currently under way in the Soviet Union. The NATO countries, he said, should reply to these initiatives with concrete measures "in favour of peace and stability."

The speech made by NATO General Secretary Lord Carrington was discordant with those made by Hermannsson and Andreotti. The obvious fear of changes for the better in the international situation and opening prospects for elimination of nuclear missiles in Europe have made his speech tough. Foreign observers in the capital of Iceland described his speech as "an echo of the dying away 'Cold War' policy". The NATO political leader began his speech with false assertions about a gap between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces, which is widening to the prejudice of the West. The Soviet peace initiatives which were received in the West with enthusiasm and understanding are, to him, nothing but "Moscow's tactical flexibility".

Carrington demanded that NATO's efforts in the military sphere should not be relaxed and its military expenditures be kept at a level sufficient to deter the Soviet Union.

## PAPER ON GORBACHEV'S ROMANIA VISIT, PACT MEETING

PM091815 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jun 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Guarantor Of Lasting Security"]

[Text] Two events last week attracted the attention of the world public. They were CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Romania and the Berlin conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee. In Bucharest and in Berlin there was further striking confirmation of the fundamental interests and goals of the socialist community states which are united by ties of broad, multifaceted cooperation and are successfully coordinating their actions in international affairs.

The objective need to bring the socialist countries closer and closer together stems from the very essence of socialism. The sense of community increases the fraternal states' efforts in socialist building and helps to safeguard their reliable security. This is particularly important at a time when the world situation is very serious and complex. The arms race continues, as does the accumulation of new types of nuclear weapons, and conflict situations and tension in various parts of the world are persisting and intensifying; manifestations of the imperialist policy of force and threat of force and interference in other states' internal affairs are continuing, the world economic situation is deteriorating, and the gulf between the developing and developed countries is constantly deepening.

In the present international situation, the Soviet-Romanian joint communique noted, in which we are concerned with mankind's very survival, special significance attaches to concerted, purposeful actions by the states of the Warsaw Pact which is an effective factor in the struggle to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The Berlin conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee was a convincing example of such actions dictated by supreme responsibility for the fate of the world.

At its 4 June session the CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved the work done at the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee by the Soviet delegation headed by M.S. Gorbachev. It expressed a high opinion of and supported the document on the Warsaw Pact countries' military doctrine which clearly expresses the defensive nature of socialism's military strategy and contributes to the development of dialogue between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO and to confidence building in Europe.

In the GDR capital the idea was clearly expressed that states' increasing interdependence, scientific and technical progress, and the creation of weapons of unprecedented destructive power demand the abandonment of the fallacious concept of "nuclear deterrence." There can be no winners in a nuclear war. The participants in the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee reaffirmed their belief that the cardinal task is the prevention of war, the removal of it from the life of mankind for all time, the preservation of world peace, the cessation of the arms race, and the transition to specific disarmament measures, above all nuclear, geared to complete and general disarmament.

conference participants unanimously stated the emergence of a real of the immediate implementation of practical steps in nuclear disarament to 's slide toward nuclear catastrophe.

n the basis of the need to rid mankind of war once and for all, halt the rule out the use of military force, strengthen peace and security, and mplete and general disarmament, the Warsaw Pact states adopted in Berlin an ocument which clearly and unequivocally says that the fraternal states' ctrine is defensive in nature and is based on the need to keep military ced at the lowest possible level. The Warsaw Pact states will never, under tances, commence hostilities against any state or alliance of states unless they come under armed attack themselves. They will never use ons first. They are not making any territorial claims on any state inside tside Europe. They do not regard any state or any people as their enemy. rary, they are prepared to develop relations with all countries in the world is of mutual consideration of the interests of security and peaceful .

he years of mutual suspicion and distrust, obtain a better understanding of 's intentions, and ensure the military concepts and doctrines of the ocs and their participants are based on defensive principles, the Warsaw made a proposal to the states of the North Atlantic Alliance on holding s to compare the two alliances' military doctrines, analyze their and jointly examine the directions of their future evolution. The s, which the fraternal countries are prepared to hold in 1987, might also imbalance and asymmetry in certain types of armaments and armed forces and ys of eliminating them on the basis of a reduction by the one who is in the he understanding that such reductions will lead to the establishment of y lower levels.

Pact states see it as their paramount duty to their peoples to reliably their security. The allied socialist states are not aiming for greater han other countries, neither will they accept less security. The allied ed forces are being maintained at a combat readiness sufficient to prevent nawares; but if they are nevertheless attacked they will deliver a crushing he aggressor.

conference of the Political Consultative Committee fully confirmed the of the fraternal parties' and states' general political line and the ss of the coordination of their efforts in the international arena. In leaders of the allied socialist states once again expressed their resolute rengthen the Warsaw Pact which is the guarantor of the peoples' lasting

## PYADYSHEV FOREIGN MINISTRY NEWS BRIEFING 11 JUN

### Pyadyshev, Others Address Issues

LD111806 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] A news conference on disarmament has been held at the press center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Here are more details:

A Foreign Ministry spokesman, Boris Pyadyshev, said the Venice summit of seven leading capitalist countries didn't give answers to topical, acute questions of the day. He was sorry that the documents of the conference did not even mention the issue of medium-range missiles of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space armaments.

At the press conference Academician Yevgeniy Primakov said there was every reason for certain optimism concerning a summit meeting. Everything depends, he said, on the answer the Soviet Union will get to its proposals on scrapping Soviet and American intermediate range and shorter range missiles in Europe. If an understanding is reached there will be a meeting. The scientist was not absolutely sure whether the meeting would take place if an agreement was concluded on eliminating only medium-range missiles.

Disarmament expert (Aleksey Arbatov) told the news conference that tactical missiles with a range of action from 500 to 1,000 km were a stumbling block on the road to disarmament in Europe. He said the United States and its allies didn't want the complete elimination of these missiles and tried to keep a certain number of them. However, as a result, while the number of missiles capable of reaching Soviet territory would be cut the number of missiles reaching the territories of Soviet allies would grow. The Soviet Union, (Arbatov) stressed, will never permit the defense of its allies to be threatened.

Answering a question about Mathias Rust, the Foreign Ministry spokesman Boris Pyadyshev stressed that the West German citizen had not made a single complaint concering the way his case was investigated. Investigation is conducted in accordance with Soviet law. It is conducted by skilled investigators. Pyadyshev said the question could be settled in a matter of days if the Soviet aide were absolutely sure that Rust had made his daring flight alone. However, there is not such confidence yet. The investigation needs time to find out all the details.

### Venice Summit Lacked Results

LD111316 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS -- The meeting of the "seven" in Venice has not given answers to burning questions. At the same time, its final documents reveal the outlines of possibilities for continuing international dialogue, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today, assessing the outcome of the summit of leading capitalist nations.

Speaking at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists here, he observed that, on the credit side, the meeting produced a final document on East-West relations that was characterized by a more or less calm, non-confrontational tone.

It differed noticeably by its tonality and content from the sharp remarks with regard to the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy made by the U.S. President and other highly-placed Washington administration officials on the eve of the Venice summit.

On the other hand, said the Soviet spokesman, the traditional non-constructive position on a whole number of questions could not be put on the credit side.

Washington's imperial thinking was visible in many provisions of the summit documents. The appeals to Western countries to remain vigilant in the face of all aspects of Soviet policy were banal as well.

The theme of disarmament was couched, regrettably, in general terms, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The problem of medium-range missiles was not even mentioned, nor was the question of talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva.

Indeed, this gap was filled to some extent by the statement by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz at a press conference after the summit to the effect that an ever greater consensus was established in Venice with regard to medium-range missiles.

The summit itself, however, gave no reply to the topical issues, said the Soviet spokesman.

## FRG Pilot Investigation

LD111337 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1301 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jun (TASS) -- The West German pilot who has violated Soviet airspace has no complaints about how the investigation into his case is being conducted. This was reported today by a spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a news conference here for Soviet and foreign journalists.

He said that the case is being conducted by a highly qualified investigating officer who is adhering scrupulously to the requirements of the law. The investigation has one task: to investigate the essence and circumstances of Rust's case calmly and painstakingly.

There are often complicated circumstances not visible at first glance beyond the outward simplicity, the spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued. The case could be resolved within a few days if one were 100-percent sure that Rust carried out this impudent flight alone. But there has to be an investigation into whether his flight was prompted by someone pursuing far-reaching objectives. This will require time.

## Japanese Envoy Summoned

LD111428 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 11 TASS -- The Japanese ambassador in Moscow on Wednesday was summoned to the Foreign Ministry of the USSR and a statement was made to him in connection with the campaign which is continuing in Japan against some employees of Soviet institutions. This was reported at a press conference held here today by Boris Pyadyshev, a representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The ambassador's attention was drawn, he said, to the groundlessness of the Japanese side's fabrications towards these Soviet citizens.

The ambassador was also told that separate representatives of Japan, including employees of the Japanese Embassy, were engaged on the territory of the Soviet Union in unlawful actions incompatible with their official status. If the aggravation of the unhealthy atmosphere around Soviet institutions in Japan and the unlawful actions of Japanese representatives in the USSR continue, the Soviet Union will be compelled to take appropriate steps in reply, said the representative of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR.

## IZVESTIYA ON FAILED JAPAN-FRG ESPIONAGE OPERATION

PM112031 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Vasilyev, B. Krotov report: "Espionage at Slow Speed, or What Was Hidden Behind Some Earthenware Pots"]

[Text] Everything began according to a strictly set up procedure. The Japanese firm Sun Union acquired goods on the local market with the intention of sending them to a client in the FRG. As is known, the shortest distance between two points is a straight line. Therefore, the Japanese company chose a route through the Soviet Union to deliver the cargo to its client. Another Japanese firm, Marujen Asia Trans, kindly undertook the onerous business of hiring CTIU container No 1317221, completing all the necessary documents, and delivering the packed freight to Yokohama port. Then it was the turn of a third Japanese firm, Transsib, which carries out the transportation of materials and cargoes across USSR territory to become involved.

Hundreds of containers destined for the long journey were loaded on the deck of the ship Sibir Maru. Then came the Soviet port of Nakhodka. A day or two later all the containers were moved from the deck of the Japanese container ship onto railroad flatcars. The heavily laden train clattering at a measured pace over the rail joints set off on the long journey. The station of destination marked in the documents for the journey was the freight port of Leningrad.

However, the container hired by the firm Marujen Asia Trans did not arrive at its destination and there were very substantial grounds for this. The cargo of earthenware pots, hand-thrown by Japanese craftsmen, as was noted in the bill of lading, was detained by the competent Soviet bodies not, of course, because of the highly artistic work of the Japanese craftsmen, but for quite different reasons.

So what attracted attention to this ordinary container -- 2.6 meters high, 2.4 meters wide, and 6 meters long -- with the letters CTI inscribed in white paint on the sides, the abbreviation for the U.S. Container Transport Internatonal firm? Several suspicious circumstances. From the small ventilation holes on both sides of the container there emerged an unusual bluish light. It would grow more intense and then fade. A light mechanical noise came from deep inside it, which was also uncharacteristic of containers of this kind. When it was decided to make a closer investigation, it was discovered with amazement that the number of the container, made up of strips of white paper, had been specially glued over some other figures. Then, when the container was opened in the presence of Japanese representatives, before the gaze of those participating in this necessary step, there appeared dozens more similar paper numbers which evidently were glued on this or other containers as the need arose in similar circumstances. For what purpose? [paragraph continues]

The answer to this question is provided by what CTIU container No 1317221 contained. Or, to be more precise, that part of it where a whole espionage laboratory was concealed behind a large box of earthenware pots.

Representatives of the Soviet Customs, of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade's All-Union Soyuztranzit Association, and employees of the Transsib transportation firm who were then in Moscow were invited to Kuntsevo-2 railroad station near Moscow to which the spy-container had been delivered. There was really some amazing stuff in the container. Judge for yourselves. Attached to the metal frame around the perimeter of the container were two purpose-made computers, radioactive radiation sensors and recorders, and special movie cameras whose lenses could, through the ventilation openings, carry out round-the-clock panoramic filming of the whole route taken by the container. There were many other sophisticated instruments and devices for carrying out espionage activity. This whole electronic complex operated automatically, without a pause, recording every meter traveled, and, as we know, this journey began for this container in Yokohama and was to have ended in Hamburg. Or was it only at Hamburg?

Whoever dreamed up and planned this operation used the most modern equipment for creating this set of apparatus -- the best achievements of scientific and technical thinking. We have already mentioned the fact that the computers were made to special order. Even a cursory glance showed that products from major U.S. firms had been brought into play in the operation: RCA, National Semiconductor, Texas Instruments, Siliconics, and so forth. The movie cameras were fitted with lenses from the Japanese firm Nikon and with Kodak film. The storage batteries used in the electronic complex were manufactured by the U.S. firms Mallory and Company and Eagle-Picher. Lead blocks used to impart stability and weight to the container were stamped with the mark of a U.S. factory.

In Hamburg the container was impatiently awaited by a certain Ramon Prayz [name as published] -- an FRG citizen, who passed himself off as the owner of a firm of the same name. He was to have received the expected cargo through the Zuest-Bachmayer transport firm.

It is said that Ramon Prayz at one time had owned hotels, restaurants, snack bars, and bars. But times change and now the affairs of this dealer had been severely upset. Maybe with the help of earthenware pots and what was concealed behind them Herr Prayz was counting on rectifying his financial situation? It is not ruled out that it was by precisely these considerations that yet another participant in this espionage operation -- the head of the Marujen Asia Trans firm -- was also guided. His affairs, as is now known, were also going far from swimmingly.

A criminal case was instituted on the basis of the discovery of the espionage apparatus in the transit container on USSR territory. An investigation is being carried out. A protest has been made to the Japanese and West German authorities and the relevant explanations and also punishment of those guilty are expected from them.

Japan and the FRG and certain other countries are not averse to discoursing about the inadmissability of interference in the internal affairs of one state or another. The case of CTIU container No 1317221 bears out, however, that in these very countries people seem to connive at espionage activity against the Soviet Union. The world public can now judge for itself about the dirty dealings of those who like to look for motes in other people's eyes while disregarding the beams in their own eyes.

## PRAVDA REPORTS VENICE SUMMIT DECLARATIONS

PM101507 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 87 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent N. Miroshnik: "Venice: Approaching the Tape"]

[Text] Venice, 9 Jun — The 2d day of the meeting of leaders of the seven leading capitalist states started off as a continuation of the 1st day — with the debate of political matters which had been interrupted on the previous evening. In fact, as far as the experts on the delegations were concerned, the meeting was not interrupted: They worked through the night on the texts of the political statements whose main points were outlined during the traditional celebration dinner attended by the leaders of "the seven" at the end of the 1st day.

The delegation heads began today with the traditional group photograph. The photographers included the American J. Philips, who began his career as a specialist in official photographs more than 40 years ago, when, in Tehran, he photographed the leaders of the anti-Hitlerite coalition sitting in armchairs on the veranda.

After the photograph session on the Venetian island of San Giorgio Maggiore, the political debate resumed. At midday Italian Prime Minister A. Fanfani addressed journalists and read out three statements which were the outcome of the debate on political questions. In the first, devoted to East-West relations, "the seven" noted "new opportunities" for progress in these relations and the "interesting development of events" in the USSR and confirmed the pledges to reinforce security at the "lowest possible level of armaments," while preserving a nuclear deterrent force. The declaration points out the emergence of "more favorable prospects" for reducing nuclear armaments in Europe. "The seven" supported the wish to achieve an accord on a "balanced, substantial, and verifiable reduction of nuclear armaments" and bring about the total destruction of chemical weapons.

The statement on the "cause of the crisis in the Persian Gulf" is of a very general nature. It patently reflects the reluctance of the Europeans and the Japanese to give in to pressure from the United States, which wants to "share" with them responsibility for its military adventures. "The seven" pointed out that new coordinated efforts are needed in the international arena to put an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict and voiced support for the UN secretary general's actions in that area.

Moreover, a joint statement condemning international terrorism was adopted at the morning session.

It appears that there will be no real changes in the economic sphere. Such problems as coordination of "the seven's" economic policies, foreign debts, imbalance in international trade, and agricultural subsidies have been on the agenda for a long time and an immediate solution here, before the eyes of the general public, was an impossibility. The interests of the participants were too diverse. Incidentally, the dollar fell sharply again on the international foreign exchanges: The moneymen clearly do not believe that there will be any positive news from Venice in terms of the future of the world capitalist economy.

## ANALYST BABENKO CITES EXAMPLES OF U.S. 'TERRORISM'

LD101657 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 10 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS — TASS news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

The official name for the Venice conference of the "seven" is "an economic summit meeting." But its participants, the head of the U.S Adminsitration, first and foremost, were in a hurry to use the forum, expected by the public opinion, in their own aims savouring of outright political manoeuvring.

The question of international terrorism all of a sudden emerged to the foreground of the negotiations in Venice, along with other questions. Outwardly, this is linked with the June 9 explosions outside the U.S. and British Embassies in Rome, the explosions which certainly deserve to be most firmly denounced. The declaration on terrorism, which was adopted by the leaders of seven biggest bourgeois states, contains only the confirmation of the known positions.

The authors of the declaration denounced once again all forms of terrorism including hijacking and seizure of hostages and reaffirmed the obligation of everyone not to make any concessions to terrorists or those who support them.

U.S. officials, the ABC reports, welcomed the declaration as a toughening of the allies; stand on the issue. But representatives of other delegations, according to the same TV company, saw in that document a vague hint to Reagan's secret arms deliveries to Iran.

The same paper could certainly be read, as they say, in various ways. But something different catches the eye. Representatives of the U.S. Administration which institutionalized political terrorism, like to discourse on terrorism. Wasn't it under the cover of the same anti-terrorism speeches that the White House leadership resorted to the worst terrorism — the attempt in April last year to kill the leader of the Libyan revolution whose independent policy does not suit Washington?

And what about the White House's relations with the Pinochet clique which keeps the people of Chile in check by terror? It is to be recalled that it is exactly the United States which is harbouring from Soviet justice air priates Brazinskas brothers, who killed air hostesss Nadya Kurchenko.

What stratagems are the powers-that-be at the White House after, if officially they declare Iran to be a supporter of terrorism, but meanwhile they secretly supply that country with weapons and send the money gained to the inveterate terrorists — the Nicaraguan Contras. The dushmans, acting against civilian Afghan population by terrorist actions, have in their hands weapons marked "made in USA."

There are more than enough such examples. One thing is clear: When Washington takes great pains to declare its implacable hostility for international terrorism and calls upon others to join it, under this phenomenon of present-day reality it implies those fighting for their freedom and independence. This principle is used in making the division: the contras and the dushmans — friends, while the Palestinians or, say, Libyans, are not. And again in the White House they vest themselves with imperial rights, this time the right to determine "which terrorism" is good and which is bad.

## PRAVDA'S KOTOV REVIEWS PAST WEEK'S EVENTS

PM081516 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

["International Review" column by Boris Kotov]

[Text] Doctrine of Reason and Realism [subhead]

The past week in international life was marked by active, animated discussion in the world of the results of the Berlin conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee; that is understandable and entirely natural, because in Berlin the allied socialist states -- Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia -- after a detailed examination of the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole, drafted, formulated, and published in the final communique their united positions on the entire spectrum of current international problems.

At the same time, in view of the fact that in the present acute, tense international situation it is extremely important to correctly understand the aims and intentions, in the military sphere, both of individual states and of the military-political alliances, the conference participants adopted a truly historic decision -- publicly to set forth, in summarized form, the fundamental provisions of their military doctrine. This was done in a document now being commented on animatedly in the world press entitled "On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact States," a document sealed with the signatures of the leaders of the seven allied countries of the socialist community.

At its 4 June session, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo highly assessed and supported the document on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact countries, which clearly expresses the defensive nature of socialism's military strategy and promotes the development of dialogue between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the strengthening of confidence in Europe.

There has been a profound positive response, in broad circles of the world public, for the provisions of the Berlin document, which states clearly: The Warsaw Pact states will never under any circumstances begin military operations against any state or alliance of states whatever, unless they themselves are the subject of an armed attack. They will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

At the same time, as has been noted everywhere, the Berlin document graphically demonstrates that sentiments of ineffectual pacifism are alien to the allied socialist states. If necessary they are prepared to stand up for themselves, and will know how to do so. Their armed forces are maintained in combat readiness sufficient to ensure that they cannot be taken unawares and to give a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

In this context the allied socialist countries will continue to make efforts to maintain the existing military-strategic parity and equilibrium of military forces at a lower and lower level. In other words, the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine is a doctrine of reason and political realism which sees that its proper historical task is to end the arms race and to implement real disarmament measures.

Western observers greeted with particular interest the proposal put forward in Berlin to hold consultations between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries this year at the level of authoritative experts with the participation of military specialists. [paragraph continues]

Here the intention is to achieve a better understanding of each other's intentions and to ensure that the military concepts and doctrines of the military blocs and their participants are based on defensive principles. Another subject of consultations could be the imbalances and asymmetries which have arisen in individual types of arms and armed forces and the quest for ways to eliminate them.

Many people in the West, including the NATO countries, have assessed this proposal as a good opportunity to establish on the European Continent and generally between the two military-political alliances that degree of confidence that is so necessary for the implementation of the task of mutual, phased disarmament. An article in THE WASHINGTON POST is characteristic in this respect. "This is the first instance," the newspaper writes, "where the Warsaw Pact has hinted that it might agree to NATO's demand for an arms reduction that would eliminate the Eastern bloc's superiority in the majority of categories of conventional arms."

These categorical remarks on the "Eastern bloc's superiority" are best left to the conscience of the authors on THE WASHINGTON POST. But the crux of their assessment is clear. The Warsaw Pact has taken another important step toward NATO in the quest for ways toward real disarmament, and, in particular, toward the speediest conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe.

You would think that a speedy positive reaction would follow on the part of the North Atlantic Alliance leadership. It did, but this reaction was very vague and contradictory. "Official spokesmen for NATO headquarters welcomed the readiness of the Warsaw Pact states to hold talks to eliminate disproportions in a number of types of conventional arms," the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE reported from Brussels this week. However, the newspaper notes, NATO made it clear that "the alliance intends to reject the Warsaw Pact's call for talks to be held this year."

In this regard, the well-known U.S. journalist Flora Lewis, with a fair proportion of sarcasm, writes in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "NATO, like a supertanker, is a cumbersome structure which is hard to turn around. It now has demonstrated its inability to respond to the new Soviet proposals, which are being put forward with breathtaking speed."

The Spanish newspaper ABC, for its part, notes that "it is now the West's turn," since the East "has already covered its part of the way" toward the beginning of real disarmament, which is so much desired by the peoples. It can only be added that according to the assessment made by the Soviet leadership in Bucharest on 25 May, the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states have, "for the sake of achieving this goal, probably have already covered far more than their half of the way." Surely that is evidence of a tremendous reservoir of good will on the part of the allied socialist countries in the struggle for mankind's survival and the building of a nuclear-free world!

Under Antiwar Pressure [subhead]

To warn mankind of the chief danger hanging over him and the fatal consequences of a nuclear conflict for all living things -- that is the task the international movement "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" [IPPNW] set for itself 7 years ago. Its purposefulness and persistence in seeking its goal and its concentration on the key avenue have won the movement high international prestige and influence. There are now more than 150,000 physicians from 49 countries in its ranks. Its voice is heeded; it is reckoned with throughout the world.

Another major step in the development of the physician's international antinuclear movement was its seventh congress, which ended in Moscow this week. This was the movement's most representative, truly worldwide forum.

There was unanimous support at the congress for the idea forumulated by U.S. Professor B. Lown. "We should use our energy to make the idea of eliminating nuclear arms the intellectual property of the people." Does this not show once again what a shaky, unpopular, unjustified, and dangerous position, in the eyes of the broad public, is held by those Western politicians who cling stubbornly to the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence," trying in vain to prove that without nuclear weapons it is impossible to preserve peace? "Those who claim that nuclear deterrence helps to strengthen peace are ignoring a mathematical certainty: It inevitably leads to catastrophe," the statement adopted at the physicians' forum states:

The congress and the physicians' antiwar movement in general have received a high assessment from the Soviet leadership. "We share the movement's goals and take them into account in our policy. We have a common responsibility to mankind," M.S. Gorbachev stated during the meeting on 2 June with a group of leading participants in the Seventh IPPNW Congress.

At the meeting the Soviet leader expressed confidence that a remarkable trend will continue to increase powerfully in the world — that of the active participation of social forces and the peoples in determining the fate of their countries and the whole world.

There is every reason for this prediction. The physicians' antinuclear congress in Moscow is itself graphic evidence of this. It also is confirmed by many other events of the past week. Let me recall some which happened in just one West European country — the FRG.

On Monday 1 June, a demand for support for the USSR's proposal on eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe was addressed to the government by the participants in the Hamburg congress of the Falcons youth organization, which is close to the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. A similar demand was put forward by the congress held in Frankfurt am Main by the association of people persecuted under Nazism — the FRG league of antifascists.

On 2 June at a news conference in Bonn a joint conclusion was read out, a conclusion reached by three West German institutes for peace studies: The elimination of medium-range missiles would lead to the strengthening of European security and open the door for further agreements on disarmament. At the same time, an SPD statement was issued in Bonn saying that the West German Social Democrats advocate the "zero-zero option" on medium-range and operational and tactical missiles in Europe, with no conditions or reservations.

Finally, on 3 June, figures from a public opinion poll were published, saying: 90 percent of FRG citizens support the Soviet proposal on the elimination of medium-range and operational and tactical missiles in Europe.

So that is the mighty pressure of antiwar and antinuclear sentiments under which Chancellor Kohl's government finds itself at the moment of making crucial decisions. As is clear from the chancellor's 4 June Bundestag statement, the government deemed it appropriate in the existing situation to lift, at least verbally, its objections to the "zero-zero option" on medium-range and operational and tactical missiles in Europe.

Although even here there was no lack of stipulations and militarist conditions which could, if not discarded, seriously complicate the attainment of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on this important problem, an agreement which is so eagerly awaited in the world.

Whipping Up Tension [subhead]

It has become a kind of sinister factor that as soon as any disentanglement of some complex tangle begins to take shape in international affairs (the nuclear missile issue in Europe, for instance), the forces of imperialist reaction, by way of revanche, seek to provoke an exacerbation of the situation and step up tension in some part of the planet, usually in one of the "hot spots." That is how one can assess the rapid and dangerous development in recent days of events in the Near East -- in Lebanon and the Persian Gulf region. These days we have seen yet again the accuracy of the idea expressed by the Soviet side during the Soviet-Syrian summit talks held in Moscow in April: "The United States regards the Near East as a testing range for shaping its imperial policy. As we have observed, the United States generally uses regional conflicts to manipulate the level of tension and confrontation."

One U.S. television company, commenting on the vicious murder of Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami, hastened to explain its causes in terms of domestic political discord in the country. The premier "died in the religious war," it said. But outside the United States what happened is explained in an entirely different way. "This crime," the French newspaper LE MONDE writes, for instance, "serves the interests of those who seek still further to destabilize the situation in the country."

That, as is known, is sought actively and purposefully by Israel, the U.S. "strategic ally" in the Near East. "The organizers of the assassination wanted to strike a blow against the resistance to the Israeli occupation and against Lebanon's unity as a sovereign Arab state," a joint statement of representatives of Lebanese progressive and partriotic parties says.

It is hardly a coincidence that at this very time the Israeli expansionists sharply increased the military provocations against Lebanon. They subjected 25 settlements in that country to artillery fire in a single day, on the very eve of the killing of Prime Minister R. Karami. The situation became so alarming that Lebanon's permanent UN representative, in a letter to the UN secretary general, drew his attention to the possibility of large-scale Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon.

The developments in and around the Persian Gulf are equally significant. By sharply increasing its naval forces in the gulf region on the pretext of protecting the "freedom of shipping," Washington hoped to establish sole military control in this strategically important region of the planet. In this regard, the White House incumbent, the newspaper L'HUMANITE noted, "intends more resolutely than ever to play the part of gendarme in the Persian Gulf."

This intention proved not so easy to carry out. It met with universal condemnation and protests in the world, and especially in the Arab countries. The U.S. Adminstration is having to maneuver. It has now launched an operation to provide "international cover" for its militarist actions. Efforts are being made -- and this was characteristic of the past week -- to knock together "multinational forces" for the Persian Gulf, with the participation of the main U.S. NATO allies.

However, the allies, as reports which have appeared in recent days indicate, are not very inclined to become directly involved in Washington's armed adventure, which is fraught with the danger of becoming drawn into the conflagration of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Moreover, some of them, Italy, for instance, have refused outright. It is expected that at the meeting of the "capitalist big seven" in Venice 8-10 June, the United States will twist its junior partners' arms in this respect.

That is the imperialist policy of neoglobalism in action.

## SHEVARDNADZE RECEPTION FOR NONALIGNED MINISTERS

PM091651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Heads Received"]

[Text] On 7 June, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, gave a reception in honor of the heads of delegations from a number of states who were in Moscow en route for Pyongyang to participate in the nonaligned countries' ministerial-level extraordinary conference on "South-South" economic cooperation.

The following delegation heads participated in the reception: A. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algerian foreign minister; M. Aziz, deputy chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers; W.A.K. Punny, Bangladesh deputy foreign minister; Antoine Ndinga-oba, Congolese foreign minister; Vu Soan Ang [name as published], Vietnamese deputy foreign minister; N.D. Tiwari, Indian minister of external affairs; Y. Iakovou, Cypriot foreign minister; I. Malmierca, Cuban foreign minister; S. Sritkhirat [name as published], Lao deputy foreign minister; Modibo Keita, Malian foreign minister; Daniel Tembe [name as published], Mozambican deputy foreign trade minister; W. Mangwende, Zimbabwean foreign minister; M. d'Escoto, Nicaraguan foreign minister; 'Isam Nayib, Syrian deputy foreign minister; Kh. Olo iba Nseng [name as published], Equatorial Guinean minister of mines and oil; R. Dizdarevic, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs; and A. al-Iryani, deputy foreign minister of the Yemen Arab Republic.

Those present also included heads of the corresponding countries' diplomatic missions in Moscow and senior staffers of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The reception took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

## BELYAYEV VIEWS ISLAMIC REVIVAL, IMPACT ON USSR

PM211502 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May and 20 May 1987 carries a two-part article by political observer Igor Belyayev under the rubric "From Letter to Problem," headed "Islam and Politics." The 4,000-word first part, carried on page 13 of the 13 May edition, opens with a letter from student A. Mikhaylov in Gorkiy which reads:

"There are fundamental differences between our materialist world outlook and Islam. Does this mean, as certain Western politicians believe, that many Soviet Muslims are subject to the influence of their coreligionists in other countries, who are waging a struggle against socialism which shows no sign of dying down to this day?"

Belyayev begins by giving a brief characterization of Islam as a comparatively modern religion with more than 850 million believers worldwide, adding in a footnote: "Muslims live in the USSR, too -- in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia, and Tajikistan, and in the Tatar and Bashkir ASSR, the Volga region, and certain other regions where Islam was traditionally widespread." He notes the flourishing of various branches of science and philosphy in Eastern countries since the arrival of Islam, though, he adds, "not solely as a result of Islam," and goes on to outline the history of the upsurge in interest in Islam since the 1960's, referring in particular to Egyptian President al-Nasir's tolerance of Islam in the context of revolutionary transformations.

Belyayev rejects the view that the Islamic revival is "due exclusively to the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran," since it can be traced back far earlier; he also denies that it is due to "the disappointment of the people of Egypt and Syria in the profound social transformations" during the sixties, pointing out that at that time there was a "steady growth in the influence of the working class in Egypt and Syria" and yet even so the number of believers continued to increase. He argues that this was in fact because Egyptians, Syrians, Palestinians, and all the Arabs, after the 1967 war with Israel, "became increasingly aware that those who were then at the head of the Arab world were not capable of offering the masses a realistic program for successful military-political opposition to aggression and imperialism," and that, therefore, the Arab masses and the young people turned to the mosques. "This was the start of an acute crisis in the political leadership of the Arab world, which was severely exacerbated after President al-Nasir's death in September 1970. It continues to this day."

After the events in Iran, Belyayev says, "the attitude of Washington and London to Islam became increasingly specific, or, to be more precise, subversive." Former U.S. President Carter's national security adviser Brzezinski was tempted by the idea that "the Americans could take advantage of the fact that Islam is in an increasingly acute conflict with the Soviet Union's allies," and that "any means of lessening Soviet influence is good." Belyayev says that Brzezinski came out in support to "creating governments and regimes in the Near and Middle East with the participation and even under the leadership of the 'Muslim Brotherhood.'"

Belyayev cites plans that emerged in Washington in 1979, "not only to hem in the Soviet Union from the south with states with a hostile ideology, but to begin to create the conditions for the explosion of a 'Muslim bomb,'" using Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Uzbek and other Central Asian languages targeted on Soviet Muslims. "In January 1980, then President Carter informed the Senate that he had demanded a study of Islamic fundamentalism, not to supplement research programs, but to use the knowledge obtained against the Soviet Union. THE WASHINGTON POST reported at that time that the White House had issued a directive to the CIA to prepare a special report on this political phenomenon. Political, please note, not religious!"

Belyayev argues that Islamic fundamentalism is not a new kind of nationalism, but an attempt "by those who manipulate the movement," "if not to seize power in their countries, at least to have substantial influence on it -- to the advantage of those who are behind them." He notes the proliferation of Muslim organizations, such as the various branches of the Muslim Brotherhood, discussing in detail the Brotherhood's activities and organizational structure in various parts of the world, including its role in Afghanistan, where "the vast majority of dushmans are 'brothers.'"

Discussing the aims of the Brotherhood and its backers with regard to "inspiring a third Islamic revolution," this time in Soviet Central Asia, Belyayev concludes the first part of his article as follows:

"In the Soviet Union everyone who believes in the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad has the opportunity to observe all the precepts of the Koran. The mosques -- there are 365 of them -- are open and full of believers, which even our most zealous opponents admit. There are many believers among the Turkmens, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Azerbaijanis, though there are not, of course, 60 million, or even 45 million, as is claimed by Western experts in Islam. Upon which are they counting, those people in the United States, and especially in Britain and Western Europe, would very much like to witness tomorrow an 'Islamic march' on Moscow from Central Asia and Azerbaijan?

"Yes, there are fundamental differences between Marxism - Leninism, or materialist world outlook, and Islam. I was reminded of this many times by my interlocutors in the Arab countries and Iran. True! But something else is also true. Those same interlocutors eventually agreed that even given all the differences, in our troubled times we should think about the survival of all mankind, of universal survival, and that precludes playing the 'Islamic card,' which continues to be the dream in Washington and London. The believers do not need destructive games. In the nuclear age, a new way of thinking is needed. People need mutual understanding to defend life, not death -- that is the means to salvation. The only means.

"We are in favor of the peacemaking activity of the Muslim clergy, which was demonstrated recently in Baku. The Soviet Union has a right to expect understanding of its approach to the Afghanistan problem, and, in particular, to a question which is by no means abstract -- who threatens whom there? Moscow resolutely rejects 'Islamic games' on our southern borders.

"Washington and London, Paris and Munich are still counting on these games. They are inclined to believe that some results already have been achieved. Thus, according to London's THE TIMES (the newspaper published a special study on this matter), many Soviet Muslims belong either to a secret Sufi organization or to the Muslim Brotherhood association.

"It is reasonable to doubt the reliability of such a sensational report in the respected British newspaper. Are these, perhaps, mere allegations? Incidentally, people have done that before now in the West. But how can one ignore an item in THE TIMES? Many questions immediately spring to mind: What is Sufism, and do Sufi organizations exist? Are they engaged in politics, or only Islamic mysticism?.."

The second part of the article, carried on page 12 of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA for 20 May, reads, in full as follows:

"The Facts Speak for Themselves" [subhead]

"Just two individual facts, which, at first glance, have no outward connection with each other.

"At the republic specialized communications center in Tashkent, where, incidentally, comparatively educated people work, 'strange' texts began to appear on the announcements board practically every day. Some of the staffers, among them CPSU members, were inviting their colleagues to various religious events. [paragraph continues] ressive announcements board was prepared on the instructions of the center self -- naturally, a CPSU member, S. Tairov. Courier M. Kadyrov, also a CPSU finalized the texts and strictly monitored their posting.

controller S. Tursunov, for instance (a young Communist and secretary of the Komsomol organization), invited people to the house of his late father-in-law morial meeting with a prayer reading. I should stipulate -- a Muslim rite, so question of a reading from the Koran. Driver T. Yusupov, also a CPSU member, his colleagues to the Islamic festival of Sunnat-toy [as published] . . . .

was embarrassed by these texts being made public. On the contrary, for some e people have regarded them as an integral part of the institution's public Does this surprise you? You are wrong to be surprised. That is what K. llayeva, secretary of the center's party organization, thought, said as she bserved their appearance. When there was a fuss about the staffers' interest , deputy chief N. Bakhabov took those Muslims who were 'attracted' to religion is protection. At an open party meeting, which discussed ways of improving ical work in light of the decisions, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee he emotionally, heatedly, and even passionately characterized the reports of ation by Communists in Islamic rites and prayers as 'slanders' and called on . . . to combat them!

cond fact. In the Turkmen SSR a few years ago, certain burials became a place rimage for practicing Muslims. I did not ask myself why a kind of 'lesser hajj' rimage like this is carried out, but I did want to know what the new 'holy' consist of. It turns out that it is a question of the newly and suddenly 'holy' places of deserters who refused, for religious reasons (?!), to serve in the the Soviet Army in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

u imagine my astonishment when I heard that? But frankly, my astonishment ed as I learned more and more details. The asphalted roads to these burials ilt . . . at the kolkhozes' expense. The transportation of pilgrims to the was organized on the same basis. This means, as in the case of the Tashkent cations center, that CPSU members who are the leaders of the generous farms f course, that they were financing Islamic rites!

returning to exclamations only because this, it seems to me, at least to some captures emotionally and emphasizes the dispiriting reality: In our Central republics literally horrifying facts become known time and again. A very ve milieu already exists there, a kind of Islamic infrastructure -- however you e it, religious or national. Why must the question be formulated thus?

and foremost because the 'Islamic games' (which were discussed in my first ) are calculated precisely on the basis of this infrastructure. In Washington, Munich, and Paris, where the foreign centers of the Muslim Brotherhood and uslim organizations operate, they seek reliable support specifically within this ructure.

oice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe devote 90 percent of their s in Uzbek, as well as those in the other Central Asian languages, to Islam. slam. And it should not be thought that those who work in the studios fo these stations are cranks of some kind who have no idea who their listeners are. On ntrary, I would venture to assure you that these highly experienced gentlemen to e a frontal attack on either the CPSU or Soviet power in our 'Muslim' republics. raph continues]

The basis of their program is the Islamic education of listeners, carefully planned in substance and very attractive in form. Then, gradually and not in the least importunately, a taste is cultivated for bringing to the fore what is spiritual, religious, or more precisely Islamic. Yes, the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad.

"Let me add that radio programs with an 'Islamic emphasis' in the national languages of our republics and aimed at Soviet Central Asia and the Transcaucasus are not only broadcast by the United States. On the Iranian-Soviet border alone there are in operation 38 (thirty-eight!) radio stations broadcasting about Islam and the 'Islamic revolution.' The purpose of their programs is frankly subversive, although they are supposed to deal with the Muslims' religion. This means that assertions about the exportation of 'Islamic revolution' are not just propaganda!

"Everyone knows that in the Soviet Union religion is separate from the state, but in our country nobody bans you from believing in Allah or in Christ. But this is where the surprises begin. It will be very useful to draw attention to them.

"Today in Central Asia and Azerbaijan, parts of the Volga region and the Urals, and certain other places where Islam is traditionally widespread, so-called 'parallel' mosques operate. There are more than 1,800 of them! What sermons are read in them and who reads them is known only to Allah. Here it should be stressed that it is not difficult to organize a small mosque, even in part of an apartment block. The Koran and the regulations for believers' prayers do not require the observance of any special or difficult rules. So the appearance of a functioning mosque in, say, an Uzbek or Kazakh village is not instantly recognized by people in the neighboring house.

"Muslim believers live in Moscow, too. They assemble fairly regularly in Izmaylovo Park, and to discuss Islamic problems.

"I find myself constantly having to stipulate: 'Where Muslim believers live.' In some cities and settlements, the Muslim communities can be large. In fact, the mosques are open for them and Muslim institutions exist and function -- openly, accessibly.

"Then another question inevitably arises: If it is all so simple, why have the 'parallel' mosques suddenly appeared? If interest in Islam increases in a particular village, rayon center, or city, is it not wiser and more farsighted to legalize all the 'parallel' mosques at once? Then things will become much clearer, both for the local authorities and for the faithful.

"People sometimes say that the national customs of the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanis, Tatars, and other Soviet citizens are too frequently intermingled, sometimes deliberately, with religious customs. Incidentally, the word 'adat,' translated from the Arabic, means 'custom, rule, habit.' We, however, interpret it solely as a religious term. Hence the confusion. It is as if some people very much wanted the people around them, especially non-Muslims, to regard religious rites as national customs. How easy it is to fool yourself and others! In particular, by asserting that all national customs are somehow linked with Islam and that this link is, in effect, organically inherent in a particular people, so that any criticism of it, and still more any condemnation, is taboo! Try and argue with that approach ...

"Bride-money, namaz (prayer) five times a day in the guise of physical exercises (!), the observance of the Muslim fast (in Central Asia it is called Uraza, and in other areas of the Soviet Union -- Ramadan), and Islamic festivals, especially the festival of almsgiving after the end of the fast, have been the subject of articles and studies. [paragraph continues]

These are generally available. But I am astounded at the indifference of certain party committees to enthusiasm for Islam. In Dzhizak Oblast, for instance, the sum of...R500,000 was spent on the restoration of a mosque. And the party obkom knew about it,and did not react!

"But let us come back to the customs. I will be making no great revelations if I stress that throughout the centuries the church and the mosque have acted as the founders and preservers of customs. It would be very helpful to have a clear idea of what prevails in a particular custom -- the national or the religious. Why is this important? Chiefly because it is easy to go too far and cause irremediable offense and injury to people. Although 'not going too far' is also risky....

"A few words about terminology and names. Somewhere in the Kara Kum Desert there is a village called...Islam. I myself heard a program about it on the radio. I would not misuse ambiguities. Where it is not necessary, I would reject names and surnames which sound, in translation, like 'the religion of Muhammad' or 'the light of religion' or 'the light of Islam'.... Only voluntarily, of course. People may object that that is the custom. Whose? Since when? I do not think my opponents will find it easy to answer that question.

"I have long been drawing attention to the vocal and instrumental group 'Yalla.' I do not know where it got its name. But I do know that, translated from the Arabic, this word means: 'Oh Allah!' No doubt people will object that the group's name has nothing to do with that interpretation. I will gladly concede that. But if a particular name can be interpreted as something which has a direct connection with Islam, then they should give the name some thought! Otherwise some people will start exploiting the ambiguity. Should that be permitted?

"Rumors or Reality? [subhead]

"It is well known that among spiritual personalities in Central Asia and in other places where Islam is traditionally widespread in the Soviet Union, there are many interesting people. I know some of them. I observed them when they were quite young, when they were studying at 'Al-Azhar' in Cairo, at the world famous Islamic university. Recently (November 1986), during a tour of Persian Gulf countries, a group of Soviet cultural figures included two Muslim hierarchs -- the imam of a mosque in Tashkent and the director of the Mir Arab madrasah in Bukhara. The first is not much over 40, the second is about 50. They were received with interest and, I would like to emphasize, with great respect in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. On one occasion I inquired about their relations with Soviet power.

"'We coexist,' they replied....

"The answer satisfied me. Indeed, the Uzbek Muslim figures, who hold a prominent place among the republic's clergy, have no intention of coming into conflict with the authorities. So why have I suddenly mentioned this?

"This is the point. After studying recent books on Islam by Western Orientalists and journalists, I have noticed they talk about the 'Muslim opposition' that supposedly exists in the Soviet Union and about the suppression of Islam in places where the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad is traditionally widespread. Mere chance? I think not."

"I already have mentioned the fact that certain Western experts and highly authoritative press organs claim that there already exist in the Soviet Union Muslim organizations, sects, 'brotherhoods,' and associations of various kinds. Underground, of course. Otherwise London's THE TIMES would not report that kind of activity.

"I do not want anyone to form the impression that as soon as any Western newspaper prints a report of some kind, there are grounds for alarm. First, let me say the THE TIMES reported the above news some years ago. Let me stress: As a rule, the London newspaper refrains from publishing what it knows to be rubbish. Let us also take into account the fact that the British are very well acquainted with Islam, its currents, trends, and secret organizations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood. That is no compliment. A knowledge of the infrastructure of the Muslim associations has in the past enabled the British authorities to influence them.

"Today, recent history should be recalled. The partition of India and Palestine in 1947 was carefully prepared and carried out by the British on a religious basis. The result? The Indian-Pakistani and Israeli-Arab conflicts, engendered by the partition, continue to this day -- to London's advantage. Alas, no end is in sight. In 1980 interested imperialist circles urged on the Iran-Iraq war, a religious and political conflict within Islam. And no end is in sight there, either.... It is clear from history that religious wars are the most difficult to end. Channeling them toward political solutions of some kind is an extremely difficult task...

"Who else knows that a Muslim underground already exists in the Soviet Union? I have before me a lengthy study by Sir Edward Mortimer, 'Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam,' published in London in 1982. On studying it, I was impressed by the author's erudition. So I could not help paying attention to his passages about the Soviet Muslims. Sir Edward is genuinely surprised: Why do the faithful in Azerbaijan not rise up, following the example of their Shi'ite coreligionists in Iran? He talks about the 'Muslim opposition,' putting his trust not in the republic's clergy, but in the supposedly anticommunist Sufi brotherhoods that THE TIMES wrote about. The crystallization of their sentiments, Mortimer observed, has proceeded especially rapidly in the last 15 years.

"Bellicose Sufism, according to the Englishman, operates in the North Caucasus, too. It is less noticeable in other places where Islam is widespread in the Soviet Union, for instance, in the Tataria, Bashkiria, or the Volga region.

"Here is a rather curious and even characteristic feature of what is happening with regards to Sufism. Islamic mysticism, which is how Sufism is spoken of by experts in the religion of the faithful, has its roots in Shi'ism. Therefore, its dissemination (its nature and forms are dealt with below) presumably ought to lead to attacks and even resistance from the Sunni authorities. But no. In the parts of the Soviet Union where the Sunni branch of Islam is traditionally widespread, Sufism encounters no difficulties. Chiefly, Mortimer claims, because adherence to Islamic mysticism promotes the dissemination of the religion of the faithful.

"Another book, 'Holy War,' also merits a close look, in my view. Its author is Wilhelm Dietl, a West German journalist. He travels a good deal in the Near and Middle East. He has been to Afghanistan, where he took an interest in the activity of counterrevolutionary groups and got to know many of their leaders. The structure of these groups has much in common with the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood. He also reported on a conference of dushman leaders held under the auspices of the Brotherhood. In his book Dietl offered a rather original definition of the Sufis -- the Islamic mystics. He calls them dervishes."

"In Deitl's opinion, the Muslims in the Soviet Union have been very successful in the struggle for religious freedoms. This is the prospect he promises us: 'As soon as Islam, which is now hiding behind the scenes, breaks out onto the broad highway and the aggressive fundamentalists rebel, the Kremlin will have a new Poland, this time within its own borders.'

"I do not think that the convocation in the United States in 1986 of a kind of international Muslim conference that formulated the task of spearating Central Asia from the Soviet Union and creating a kind of independent Islamic state (!) was a coincidence. Evidently, those people in Washington who are playing 'Islamic games' believe the time has already come for action. In connection with the current round of these games, the fact that the participants face a specific political task of a subversive nature is worthy of attention. The nature of this task is to complicate the situation in the Soviet Central Asian republics. So there you have it!

"In yet another recently published book, 'Shi'ism and Social Protest,' under the editorship of J. Cole and N. Keddie [names as published], the emphasis is on the Soviet Shi'ite Muslims. In particular, the Ismailis living in the Pamir (more than 100,000 people), and also the relatively strong influence of the ideas of the Islamic revolution.

"The same Dietl, after his visit to Afghanistan, declared: 'There are underground forces there.'

"Where is 'there'? Dietl explains:

"'On the other side of the (Soviet Union's) southern border...I heard from members of several groups of dushmans (or, as Dietl calls them, "mujahidin") that links have already been established with relatives and friends on the Soviet side. They also told me that there have been attacks on important targets. Of course, it was very difficult to obtain conformation of this from Moscow. One of their leaders (the dushmans) told me: "We have already taken the war into the land of the shuravi (the Soviet Union)!"'

"Rubbish? No, unfortunately! Let me remind you of the generally known facts. On 8 March of this year, the Afghan dushmans shelled the border settlement of Pyandzh, as the central press reported. On the night of 8-9 April, east of the settlement of Moskovskiy, the dushmans attacked our border guards. There were casualties. The instigator of this raid, which was clearly intented for show, was Mir Muhammad, a relative of Bashir, ringleader of the Afghan gangs of the 'Islamic Party' operating in Takhar Province. It is, of course, laughable to think that a raid by those who lay claim to the role of the 'new basmaks' will harm the Soviet Union. But if what happened near the settlement of Moskovskiy is regarded as a warning that the war against the shuravis (Soviets) has been unleashed and has already been taken into their territory, then what happened appears in a different light. Clearly there is no stopping the organizers of the 'Islamic games' in Washington. They are evidently in a hurry....

"Have you heard of 'taqiyah'? This is a phenomenon that is relatively widespread among the Shi'ites, whereby some of them publicly and verbally renounce Islam, but in reality remain devoutly faithful. 'Taqiyah' is used above all in the context of the creation of illegal Muslim organizations. In Azerbaijan, for instance, where hundreds of 'parallel' mosques function, there are very active sect members who declare themselves to be atheists (this applies especially to Sufists)."

"The young people in Alma-Ata who took part in the well-known December events were also manipulated by Muslim fanatics -- Sufis -- who insinuated themselves into the student milieu. I have in mind students in the senior grades and even teaching staff. What is the disturbing thing about that? The disturbing thing is that many young people who did not even know anything about the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum held on 16 December allowed themselves to submit very easily to certain forces which could not risk speaking out openly. They appeared on the scene of the events, carrying sticks....

"What is this, a 'Muslim opposition'? The answer still remains to be given. But some people in the West would very much like this to be the case. I have in front of me an interview given to the Paris weekly LE POINT at the end of January by Alexandre Beningsen [name as published], an authoritative expert on Islam. In the Frenchman's opinion, Islam is now more damaging to communism than to Western democracy, it is the enemy of the East, and only thereafter of the West. Beningsen again singles out the Sufis among those who incited the demonstration in Alma-Ata. Although, according to him, they operate primarily in the North Caucasus, especially in Dagestan, but also in Central Asia and Azerbaijan....Suppose Beningsen is grossly exaggerating? To what end? In order to create a false picture. The objective is all the same -- to show that an Islamic infrastructure not only exists, but functions.

"How do the Sufi brotherhoods function? As secret organizations, often under cover of so-called 'business clubs.' Beningsen claims that these organizations on the USSR's territory have not yet been penetrated by 'outsiders,' that is, newcomers from abroad. So where do these brotherhoods get their new members? Above all, among young people and the intelligentsia. Of course, none of the Sufis comes out openly against Marxist-Leninist ideology or Soviet power. But....

"Sufism is propagandized increasingly actively among Soviet Muslims. It has its own 'Islamizdat': Publications on religious topics are fairly widely typed out on typewriters and xeroxed, and cassette tapes of Muslim sacred texts and recordings of the Islamic authorities are circulated. I would not be surprised to hear that some of the cassettes come into Tajikistan and Uzbekistan from abroad, and perhaps from there to other regions of the Soviet Union.

"How serious are Beningsen's claims? I think it is time to pay attention to them. The more so since he goes too far in his reasoning. The French expert even talks about a possible exacerbation of the situation. Of course, at the moment it is a question of his assumptions. But both he and other Western experts have much to say -- too much, even -- that is alarming, and that inclines us to study Islam attentively here at home. In no event must we allow the Muslims' religion to be used to the detriment of our fatherland -- the USSR!"

## INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW BODY MEETS IN MOSCOW

PM091412 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Unity for Humanism and Peace"]

[Text] An international seminar on "International Humanitarian Law in the Modern World" was held in Moscow 4-6 June, with the participation of representatives of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law (IIHL) headed by its president Y. Patronogich [name as published], the UN Office of High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) headed by High Commissioner J.-P. Hocke, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), as well as representatives of the governments and the Red Cross of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Denmark, Norway, Poland, Romania, Finland, the USSR, the CSSR, and Sweden.

Over the 3 days, the participants in the seminar had a free discussion of questions connected with the place and role of international humanitarian law is an important instrument of the humanization of international relations and generally plays an active part in the process of the struggle for man's right to life and security, especially in the nuclear age.

Y. Patronogich was received by A.F.. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A friendly talk took place, with the participation of U. Genesio, member of the Italian supreme court and general secretary of the institute, M. Vetey [name as published], representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and D.D. Venediktov, chairman of the executive committee of the Union of Societies of the Red Cross and Red Crescent of the USSR.

Y.Patronogich handed A.F. Dobrynin the institute's highest award, the medal "In Unity for Humanism and Peace," which the institute's board has awarded to M.S. Gorbachev for his outstanding contribution to strengthening peace and ensuring human rights and for his initiatives on eliminating nuclear weapons and on disarmament. The institute presented this award for the first time in its history.

## RYZHKOV GREETS NONALIGNED SOUTH-SOUTH MEETING

LD090942 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2132 GMT 8 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow 9 Jun, (TASS)--We are transmitting the complete text of the greetings of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR:

To the participants in the Extraordinary Conference of the Nonaligned Countries on South-South Cooperation:

On behalf of the Soviet Government, I send greetings to the participants in the extraordinary conference who have gathered to discuss questions of the further development of cooperation between nonaligned countries in the economic, scientific-technical, and other spheres.

The liberated states are playing an ever greater role in international life and their share in world politics and economics is growing. They make a significant contribution to the assertion of new political thought and to the progress of the idea of creating a world free of nuclear arms and of violence.

The Soviet Union regards with understanding and with sympathy the processes of development of all-round cooperation between the nonaligned countries, which could become an important factor in mobilizing their internal resources with the aim of speeding up their economic development and strengthening their self-sufficiency.

We are convinced that the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and the establishment of a new international economic order is an urgent and completely feasible matter. It is important to unite the efforts of all countries in the struggle to guarantee an international economic security that envisages the creation of stable, predictable, external conditions for equal and broad economic cooperation between all states, irrespective of their social structure. We note with satisfaction that such an approach is in accordance with the tenets of the economic declaration adopted by the eighth conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries.

The Soviet Union agrees with the opinion of the nonaligned and other developing states on the interrelationship between disarmament and development. We believe that measures to limit and reduce arms not only should bring the people more security, but also should enable more money to be allocated to improving the social and economic situation of the developing countries and the solution of global problems of world development, including the problem of foreign debt.

Within the framework of its bilateral economic ties with the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Soviet Union is giving the developing countries all-around assistance, including the construction of industrial and agricultural facilities and training [leszczynski] of qualified cadres. We also are ready to develop multilateral cooperation with the nonaligned and other developing countries and to help the peoples of these states achieve prosperity and happiness in conditions of peace and security.

I wish your forum success.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov
Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

## TASS ON BALTIC SEA, NORWAY, ICELAND TU MEETING

LD091052 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 9 Jun 87

[Text] Leningrad June 9 TASS -- The motto of the 28th working conference of the Baltic Sea countries, Norway and Iceland, which is under way in Leningrad, is "to strengthen trade union unity in the struggle for a world without nuclear weapons, for international cooperation and social progress." Representatives of the working people and trade unions of nine countries: the GDR, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Poland, the USSR, Finland, the FRG, and Sweden came to attend it. The meeting of the standing committee, the steering body in-between conferences, has already been held.

Discussions will be held within the framework of the meeting. The role of the trade unions in the struggle for peace and international cooperation, their place in the scientific-technological revolution, in environmental protection will be discussed. It is planned to consider tasks of the trade unions of the Baltic Sea countries, Norway and Iceland in the movement for establishing in Europe zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

Bilateral meetings of delegations are to be held. The guests will visit enterprises, see working conditions of workers of the city on the Neva River. This is the third such a conference held in the USSR. The Soviet trade unions organized the 21st working conference in Leningrad in June 1978 and the 24th conference -- in Tallinn in June 1983.

"The Baltic Sea should be a sea of peace" is the slogan of the working conferences.

## TASS ON PROSPECTS FOR CEMA-EC COOPERATION

LD090144 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 8 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS — TASS commentator Yuriy Maksimov reports:

The communique of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states emphasizes their readiness to seek the roads to the further development of mutually-advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation with all countries. This readiness stems not only from considerations of economic nature, the wish to deepen business ties among various countries of the European Continent. It is also important that unhampered commercial and economic exchange strengthens the fabric of detente, promotes peace and security in Europe.

Considerable experience of such cooperation has accumulated. There are no doubts about its beneficial effect on interstate relations. For the Soviet Union, for other socialist countries this means, above all, the use of advantages offered by international division of labour to step up the rates of economic development.

The fact that European capitalist countries can put their goods on the markets of socialist countries promotes operating their production facilities to larger capacity and the containment of the growth of unemployment. More than two million people in Western Europe now work to fulfil orders from the CMEA member countries. CMEA orders are of exceptional importance for such industries as the production of steel pipes for trunk gas pipe-lines, the production of complete sets of equipment for the chemical industry. It will not be an exaggeration to say that these orders help these industries survive.

Though there exist rather strong business contacts between the two parts of Europe, it cannot be said that countries of the socialist community have no need for their upgrading and deepening. There are objective conditions for this. The need for further development of commercial, economic, scientific and technological contacts is felt ever stronger.

The awareness of this need prompted initiatives of the CMEA member countries to establish normal relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. The lack of such relations is viewed in European socialist countries as an anachronism. This is why extensive talks have been held in the recent months by representatives of the two economic groupings. Marked results have already been achieved. Prospects for successful conclusion of the talks opened due to the striving of both sides to establish official relations sooner. This would considerably help improve the political climate in Europe.

## WEINBERGER, ARMITAGE CITED ON GULF PLANS

LD111355 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Washington June 11 TASS -- U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger Wednesday spoke in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, commenting on the Reagan administration's plans to increase American military presence in the Persian Gulf.

He asserted that what America was doing there was needed for its future and pleaded the need to ensure an unhindered flow of oil from the Gulf to the West and counter "Soviet influence".

If the United States failed to take any measures, Weinberger said, that would be a signal to the world that Washington lacked the determination and will to preserve American presence in the region.

The United States for this reason continue amassing its naval forces in the Gulf. Currently numbering seven ships led by the missile cruiser Fox, they are to total ten ships by early July.

Richard Armitage, assistant secretary of defense, told UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL that the U.S. Navy planned to start escorting Kuwait tankers across the Gulf in the beginning of next month and to keep on doing that until attacks on ships came to an end.

The Pentagon at the same time is seeking to extend air cover for its operations in the region. THE NEW YORK TIMES reported today, quoting administration officials, that "the Pentagon hopes to expand patrols by AWACS surveillance aircraft over the entire length of the Persian Gulf before United States warships start escorting Kuwait oil tankers".

"Because the plans are based in Saudi Arabia and would fly over other Arab countries along the Gulf coast opposite Iran, the expansion of patrols would require their approval," it added.

Despite the administration's reassuring statements, worries keep unabated in Congress about the danger of the United States getting into an armed conflict in the Gulf.

Fourteen representatives Wednesday sponsored a bill invoking the war powers act that limits the President's right to use armed forces overseas without a go-ahead from Congress.

## PAPER EXPLORES LIKELIHOOD OF U.S. GULF INTERVENTION

PM091155 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Kapralov article under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Any Pretext Will Do"]

[Text] According to reports from Washington, lights are on all night in the Pentagon -- detailed plans for building up the U.S. naval and air force presence in the Persian Gulf are being worked out. On Friday and Saturday a task force sailed from U.S. ports for the Persian Gulf to "protect" -- in R. Reagan's words -- U.S. national interests and the "entire Western world."

To make the pretext for interference seem more convincing the White House administration is trying to include the NATO allies and Japan in its plans. [paragraph continues]

For instance, M Mansfield, U.S. ambassador in Tokyo, stated that the United States will not lift the extra duty on a number of Japanese goods before the "big seven" conference in Venice. In other words, it is trying to blackmail Tokyo into joining in one way or another in the implementation of the U.S. plans with regrad to the Persian Gulf.

Hitherto the allies, with the exception of Britain, have rejected Washington's demands. They are quite reasonably scared of somehow being drawn into another military adventure. The likelihood of such a turn of events is not discounted.

"Nobody should have any doubt," Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated, "that we are in a zone where inevitable participation in hostilities is an obvious possibility." Warnings of the danger of direct U.S. interference in the Iran-Iraq conflict have also been made by Senator James Sasser, who has just returned from the Persian Gulf region. The French newspaper L'HUMANITE writes bluntly: "Reagan is preparing for war." However, the U.S. President himself claims: "Our aim is to achieve peace, not a provocation... We will not repeat the mistakes of the past."

But the lessons of the past are fresh in the memory. One need only recall the inglorious adventure involving interference in Lebanese affairs during the Israeli aggression against that country by the so-called "multinational forces" created under U.S. auspices. At the time the NATO forces shed a great deal of blood on Lebanese soil. And how many inconsolable widows and mothers were left in the United States itself after the U.S. Marines withdrew from Lebanon! Was this not a bitter lesson? It was clearly not learned -- Washington is trying to resurrect the "multinational forces" in the Persian Gulf.

Currently another three ships are rushing to the aid of the U.S. naval formation in the region. They include the nuclear missile cruiser Virginia -- the same ship that was the first to fire missiles against Lebanon in September 1983, ripping to shreds the myth of the U.S. love of peace. We do not know whether its skipper, Joseph King, who issued the order to open fire in 1983, will be in command. Cruiser skippers can be changed. The only thing that does not change is the course followed by the navigators in the White House in defense of their "vital interests." And who can guarantee that on Washington's orders the red telephone will not ring once again on the Virginia's bridge and the command "open fire" be given?

## IZVESTIYA DERIDES WHITEHEAD CLAIM OF SOVIET THREAT

PM111223 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Dardykin "Pertinent Notes": "Whitehead's Arithmetic"]

[Text] If the emotional charge spewed forth by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead on the pages of a recent issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES was translated into decibels, eardrums would burst like a drum beaten with a sledgehammer instead of a drumstick. Clearly this sound effect is what the writer intended.

The explosion of emotion and dramatic prophecies was triggered by a circumstance that was truly unfavorable for Whitehead. Namely, the congressional decision to cut appropriations for the needs of foreign policy next fiscal year.

The legislators can be understood. In an attempt to somehow cut the federal budget deficit — which, according to the press, will have to be paid for by several generations of Americans — the congressmen are looking for ways to economize. It is not so easy to cut the military budget — any threat to it immediately triggers furious opposition from the White House. Under Reagan there is already nothing left of social programs. All that is left is to seek out "trifles." Hence the appearance of the House of Representatives decision to cut by $500 million the current $17 billion foreign policy budget and, in Whitehead's expression, the "even more unfortunate" Senate proposals.

Whitehead can also be understood. Who likes his department to be "undressed" in broad daylight? Finally, wringing his hands before the readers, he earns his salary. This would probably not rate a mention were it not for the system of arguments adduced by the deputy secretary of state.

Why should appropriations not be cut? Because it will affect not only the U.S. leading role and prosperity and democracy in the United States, but America's security too. Who threatens its security? The Soviet Union, of course. What is the specific threat? On this score, Whitehead is detailed and punctilious. The thesis that the Soviet Union provides virtually twice as much economic and military aid "worldwide" as the United States in order to win "global influence and strategic advantage" is not new. You cannot change Whitehead's mind. You cannot tell him that his computations contain certain misunderstandings. How, for instance, with the $500 million that instigated the argument, is it possible to make up the lag of $50 billion to which he refers in his article?

But later, point by point, there is indeed something new. It transpires that U.S. security is threatened by students from the developing countries studying in the USSR. Moscow Radio's foreign-language broadcasts are even more dangerous, to judge by the space accorded them in the article. Out of simple curiosity I contacted the English-language broadcasting desk in order to learn what was broadcast, for instance, on the day that THE NEW YORK TIMES featured Whitehead's article? Was it really something that undermined U.S. security? We were given an accurate list: U.S. listeners heard a report from the Moscow Congress of "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War." Then there was a broadcast in which young teachers talked about their first steps in school and about what gives them pleasure in their work and what does not. There was a music program entitled "The Russian Seven-Stringed Guitar" and a concert by the Leningrad Dixieland Band in connection with its U.S. tour.

Incidentally, these details probably mean nothing to Whitehead. The main thing for him is to scare people with Soviet superiority. He states, for instance, that the "Voice of America" is like a squeaking mouse compared with the lion's roar of Moscow Radio. But he forgets to recall that it is not Soviet transmitters that broadcast in direct proximity to U.S. territory, but the other way around — U.S. transmitters are located near the borders of the socialist countries. And, of course, he is silent about the fact that apart from the "Voice of America" the activity of Radio "Liberty" and Radio "Free Europe," its parental rights over which Washington tries to keep quiet, are also financed out of the budget for foreign policy needs.

The main thing is to hush up the figures. The Soviet Union is so many times ahead of us in this and that area. It is no problem if later on someone suspects that something is wrong or if they themselves have to admit that they miscalculated somewhat (just the other day another U.S. newspaper — the CHICAGO TRIBUNE — reported how the figures on the correlation of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact had quietly been retorspectively downgraded). The main rule in the arithmetic used by Washington in such cases is to create the first impression.

If Mr Whitehead were not representing the interests of the State Department but, say, those of the Department of Tropical Fish, he would claim, using the same formula, that each Soviet aquarium had twice as many fish. And therefore U.S. security was threatened.

If only things were that harmless... The appropriations which John Whitehead is protecting from cuts include, apart from anything else, dollar subsidies to countries where U.S. military bases are located. And thereby, in the words of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, they "directly promote the safeguarding of U.S. interests." They include aid to Israel, the Duarte clique in El Salvador, and other regimes that are to Washington's liking. The subversive actions against Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, and Cambodia also come under the heading of "foreign policy needs." In short, they are not fish, student grants, or even "Dixieland."

## RSFSR DELEGATION IN U.S. DISCUSSES CONSERVATION

LD110120 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2020 GMT 10 Jun 87

[Text] Washington, 11 Jun (TASS) -- TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

The organization of cooperation between Soviet and U.S. specialists in the conservation of natural resources and the development of sports fishing was the aim of a meeting in Washington on Wednesday of representatives of the two countries. The Soviet delegation led by Aleksandr Ulitin, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Union of Societies of Hunters and Fishermen, had a meeting with a group of high ranking staff-members of the U.S. Department of the Interior. "Our aim is to establish links, get contacts under way, have scientific and sports exchanges, discuss problems connected with the reproduction of fish resources and -- the most important thing -- to get to know each other better," the TASS correspondent was told in an interview by Boris Temnikov, a member of the Soviet delegation and chief of the Main Directorate for Foreign Tourism under the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Exchanges of angling delegations between the two countries will be organized within the framework of an agreement concluded last year between Rosokhotrybolovsoyuz and the U.S. organization Trout Unlimited. As early as the beginning of July a group of American anglers is to visit one of the fish farms of Murmansk Oblast for trial fishing.

"In July and August of next year we will send to the Soviet Union a group to take part in angling competitions," said (Stephen Lundy), first vice president of Trout Unlimited, "and in September we will receive our Soviet colleagues in our country." Apart from that, he pointed out, it is planned to hold a Soviet-U.S. conference on the ecological aspects of salmon protection next year in Moscow.

"Anyone who does not think about the problem of preserving the beauties of nature today is depriving himself of both the past and the future," the leader of the Soviet delegation emphasized. "Our aim is to join forces in order to preserve natural wealth for the future."

## MOSCOW COMMENTS ON ZHAO ZIYANG'S EAST EUROPE VISIT

### Konnov on Visit

OW101331 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2235 GMT 9 Jun 87

[Viktor Konnov commentary from the Novosti newscast]

[Text] The visit of Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC and premier of the PRC State Council, to a number of socialist countries in Europe is continuing. Our commentary:

[Konnov] Hello, comrades. In recent years PRC relations with Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria have improved noticeably. Trade and economic relations are broadening; scientific and technical cooperation, contacts in culture, sport, science, and medicine, are growing. The level of political relations has reached a level of exchange of visits between the highest leaders of these countries. Last year Comrades Zhivkov, Jaruzelski, and Honecker visited China as did CSSR Premier Strougal, and Ferenz Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Zhao Ziyang's visit to five countries in Eastern Europe is taking place under condition of interstate normalization of relations and the resumption of interparty relations. Moreover, in China, as well as in the socialist countries, the processes of restructuring and the reform of the economic system are now taking place.

During the talks with Comrade Jaruzelski, Zhao Ziyang noted that the changes in Poland are causing widespread interest in China and that in the approaches of the two countries to economic development there is much in common.

Comrade Jaruzelski emphasized that the restructuring now taking place in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries naturally reflects the contemporary historical stage in the development of our system.

The results of Zhao Ziyang's visit to Poland is published in a communique which emphasizes that the urgent task the people of the world face now is the need to check the arms race and to preserve peace on the planet.

After visiting Poland, Zhao Ziyang arrived in the GDR where talks with Comrade Honecker began. The visit of Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC and premier of the PRC State Council, is continuing.

### Shakov Commentary

OW092212 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1500 GMT 9 Jun 87

[Shakov Commentary]

[Excerpts] Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and premier of the Chinese State Council, is on an official visit to the German Democratic Republic. In talks held with GDR leader Honecker, he stressed that preventing war is the most important question of the present age. Both sides reiterated that they will seek to continue political dialogues with those forces concerned about strengthening peace and enhancing mutual understanding. Our station commentator Shakov has the following comments on this:

resolve of socialist countries to struggle for the purpose of safeguarding peace cts the basic aim of the socialist system. Obviously, the destiny of the mporary world and socialist progress is now connected more closely than ever with collective economic and political development of the socialist world. [passage ed]

recent Berlin meeting of the leaders of Warsaw Pact countries, Gorbachev's talks a number of leaders of socialist countries, and the various forms of contacts en countries of the socialist community -- including Zhao Ziyang's visits to d and the GDR -- have made the people of all countries see the great superiority r system, compared with that of the capitalist world. Please recall the questions ssed by capitalist countries in bilateral and multilateral meetings. What they d about at these meetings was always related, to a certain extent, with stepping heir imperialist military efforts and strengthening their economic expansion to Africa, and Latin America. The current meeting held by capitalist countries in e is no exception to this.

or the socialist countries, they have repeatedly expressed the determination to every effort to prevent a nuclear war. China's expansion of cooperation with list countries in this regard is of great significance. The potential of such eration is very great. To our country, the highly valuable character of socialism nseparably linked with peace.

## SHKOVA RECEIVES PRC FRIENDSHIP GROUP IN MOSCOW

1127 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 9 Jun 87

t] Moscow June 9 TASS -- TASS correspondent Gennadiy Gavrilenko reports:

y Valentina Tereshkova, president of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, received a delegation of Chinese People's Society for Friendship with Foreign Countries and of the ese-Soviet Friendship Society.

emician Sergey Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, was ent at the meeting. Matters aimed at developing friendly relations between the two tries were discussed.

morning the Chinese guests laid a wreath at Lenin Mausoleum and visited the Lenin rial apartment and study in the Kremlin.

delegation leaves for Leningrad tonight.

## ROGACHEV CRITICIZES, WARNS JAPAN ON ANTI-SOVIETISM

OW111253 Tokyo KYODO in English 1248 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow, June 11 KYODO -- The Soviet Union has criticized Japan for allegedly conducting an anit-Soviet campaign and warned it will take retaliatory measures if Japan continues the campaign.

Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev made the warning to Japanese Ambassador in Moscow Yasue Katori at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Wednesay evening.

Rogachev apparently was referring to the U.S. Yokota Air Base spy case which allegedly involved Soviet Embassy officials and the illegal export of high-technology machine tools to the Soviet Union by Toshiba Machine Co. of Japan.

Rogachev also accused some officials at the Japanese Embassy in Moscow of behavior unbecoming their position and even violating Soviet laws.

A ranking Soviet official has hinted his country may refuse to attend the second Japan-Soviet trade and economic conference to open in Tokyo on June 24 but Rogachev did not refer to the matter.

Katori denied the Japanese Government was conducting an anti-Soviet campaign.

While denying Rogachev's allegations about the Japanese Embassy officials, Katori asked Rogachev to take measures against any repetition of conduct by Soviet Embassy officials in Tokyo unbecoming at diplomats.

## MONGOLIAN GOVERNMENT LAUDS WARSAW PACT DOCTRINE

PM111301 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 87 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Mongolian Government Statement"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 7 Jun -- People in Mongolia have greeted with approval the results of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee conference held in Berlin, a Mongoloian Government statement reads. The military doctrine adopted by the fraternal socialist countries, which is of a defensive nature, was a graphic manifestation of their peace-loving course. It fully serves the aims of the prevention of war and the nonuse of force in interstate relations.

The large-scale initiatives of the conference participants, the statement emphasizes, enrich with new practical aspects the proposals which they advanced earlier of ending the arms race and of disarmament. The elimination of Soviet and American medium-range and operational and tactical missiles in Europe opens up the real possibility of freeing the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The Mongolian Government again voices full support for the Warsaw Pact states' constructive policy of promoting the speediest political settlement of crisis situations in Asia and other parts of the planet.

## CAMBODIAN BEAM ON FUTURE ASEAN SINGAPORE MEETING

BK110255 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 10 Jun 87

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] The issue of a solution to the Cambodian problem has been included in the agenda of the annual conference of ASEAN foreign ministers to be held in Singapore on 15 June. The following is our observer's opinion.

A brief survey of the issue shows that in ASEAN capitals, people are against the Pol Pot clique. At a recent meeting in Jakarta, both the Indonesian and Singapore foreign ministers opposed the return of the Pol Pot clique in Cambodia. Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatamja expressed this view at a news conference recenty held in Jakarta. Recalling the 12-month leave of Prince Sihanouk, head of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea [CGDK], Mokhtar pointed out that his move draws attention to the Pol Pot genocidal clique and to the necessity to eliminate these criminals from the national reconciliation process. The Indonesian foreign minister expressed his intention to include this position, to which President Suharto has agreed, into the conference of ASEAN representatives to be held in Singapore shortly.

It is to be recalled that Sihanouk's decision to take leave of his position as head of the CGDK is a sign of protest against attacks by Pol Pot soldiers against Sihanouk combatants. Sihanouk detached himself from the Pol Pot clique to stop serving as the clique's representative. Those on Sihanouk's side openly said that the Pol Pot clique aspires to rule over other groups in the coalition government or even to eliminate them. This concern reflects the true nature of the Pol Pot murderers who have not changed their hideous face.

The magazine NEAK KHOUSNA, in a recent issue released in Phnom Penh, reported the attacks by this genocidal clique on Cambodian villages along the border, vehicles, and trains. These terrorists planted mines to destroy schools, industrial bases, and waterworks. In short, these traitors have sown terror as before. They have brutally maltreated Cambodian refugees living in camps under their control on Thai soil. Realizing this, Sihanouk has accused the Pol Pot clique of barbarous violations of human rights.

In Mokhtar's reasonable view, the clique, tainted with the people's blood, cannot aspire to take part in the national reconciliation process. Observers consider the support for this view by wide circles in ASEAN countries as a sign showing the rapprochement between the ASEAN position and that of the Indochinese countries. A MERDEKA editorialist notes that Indonesia and Vietnam are striving to ensure security, stability, and peace in this region. Many connections have served as bridges to gap the differing attitudes of ASEAN, Vietnam, and other Indochinese countries.

One hopes that the forthcoming conference of ASEAN representatives in Singapore would take a step in this direction, despite opposition from outside forces.

## AFGHAN GENERAL IMAMODDIN REVIEWS SITUATION IN DRA

LD111932 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1702 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Kabul, 11 Jun (TASS) -- On 15 June it will be 5 months since the DRA Revolutionary Council decision on a unilateral cease-fire by the Afghan Army came into effect. How has the situation in the country changed in this period? Major General Imamoddin, chief of the Operations Division of the DRA Armed Forces General Staff replies to this question from the APN correspondent in Kabul:

The situation is developing differently in different parts of Afghanistan, he said. In the south, the southeast, the southwest, as well as in a number of central regions, it remains tense. It is calmer in the north, the northeast, and the northwest of the DRA, although here, too, armed groups of rebels are making attempts to hamper the process of national reconciliation. Over the past 5 months, counterrevolutionary bands have violated the terms of the cease-fire 1,000 times. They have subjected Afghan Army garrisons, villages, and industrial enterprises to intensive bombardments. The enemy is conducting energetic combat operations on virtually the entire length of the Afghan-Pakistan border.

But the "hottest spots" are now the Provinces of Qandahar, Paktia and Konarha. Here bandit formations are endeavoring to "liberate" the convoy routes along which they once received weapons from Pakistan.

The general recalled that during combat operations undertaken at the end of 1986, these routes were cut off by the Afghan Army. Naturally, he added, under these conditions we are obliged to deliver retaliatory strikes at the enemy -- in 5 months a total of 42 combat operations have been conducted. As a result, a large amount of weaponry, mostly U.S.-, British-, and West German-made, has been seized. In Qandahar, Paktia, and Nangarhar, 54 large arms stores have been destroyed, and 14 major armed bands' headquarters destroyed. In the course of retaliatory operations by the Afghan Army, thousands of small arms, over 2 million rounds of ammunition, several hundred field guns and mortars of various caliber, and about 1 million shells and mortar bombs also were seized. During this period, many large arms convoys, including some carrying "ground-to-ground" and ground-to-air missiles, were intercepted.

The enemy's tactics over the past 5 months were virtually unchanged -- the bandit formations are, in the main, waging war against the civilian population. The towns of Asadabad, Ghazni and Qandahar come under rocket and shell-fire almost every day. Hundreds of houses, shops, and some mosques, including one in the district of Moqur, in Paktia Province, have been destroyed. The aim of all these actions is to neutralize the population of the rural areas and compel the people to renounce their support for government policies aimed at ending the fratricidal war and restoring peace in the country.

The terrorist acts, which have been perpetrated by the counterrevolution in various regions of the country, serve the same purpose. In the Provinces of Kunduz, Nangarhar and Qandahar, leaders of local national reconciliation extraordinary commissions were killed. In Qandahar, during prayers in the sacred month of Ramadan, Haji Mohammad Nabi, a well-known Afghan religious figure, was shot while in a mosque.

In Paktia Province, two transport aircraft carrying peaceful inhabitants were shot down. Moreover, one of the aircraft was shot down by Pakistani F-16 fighters. This resulted in the death of over 80 persons.

Altogether, 15 Afghan aircraft have been shot down in this period. About 1,000 peaceful inhabitants have been killed and several thousand people have been gravely wounded as a result of artillery and missile bombardments.

However, the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is developing, Maj Gen Imamoddin continued. Over 23,000 persons belonging to various armed Islamic Groups have laid down their arms. In Herat Province, which was earlier considered the "bandits bastion," almost 6,000 persons have already laid down their arms. Hundreds of armed groups have entered into negotiations with the local extraordinary commissions for national reconciliation about conditions for a cease-fire.

There is an increase in the flow of refugees from Pakistan and Iran. Over 50,000 have returned to the country. To receive them, the DRA Army, in conjunction with the local authorities and the DRA Ministry of Internal Affairs, have set up special centers where the refugees receive the necessary material and medical assistance, after which they are taken by Army transport to their places of permanent residence. The flow of refugees would have been even more considerable had their return home not been hampered by Pakistan and Iranian authorities and by armed formations of Afghan counterrevolutionaries. According to Afghan intelligence data, several thousand Afghan refugee families are concentrated in a number of areas on the Pakistan-Afghan and Iranian-Afghan borders. They are detained on foreign soil by force.

Despite the fact that Afghan counterrevolutionaries are striving by every means to foil the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, Maj Gen Imamoddin said in conclusion, the cease-fire has been extended for a further 6 months. This decision was adopted recently in Kabul. The DRA Government is striving to continue the nationwide dialogue. This dialogue is possible only in conditions of a cease-fire and a renunciation of armed struggle.

## AFGHAN PASSENGER PLANE DOWNED BY STINGER MISSILE

LD111815 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Kabul June 11 TASS -- An AN-260 passenger transport plane of the Bakhtar al-Watana Air Company was shot down by an American-made Stinger missile over the Shah Juy district, Zabol Province, at 6.30 a.m. local time today.

The plane was on a flight from Qandahar to Kabul, with 55 people aboard, BAKHTAR reports. 53 persons, among them 16 children and 10 women, were killed. Two passengers, one of them a six-year boy, were gravely injured.

Reporting this brutal crime, the BAKHTAR news agency underlines that it has been committed by the hands of those who with the support of American imperialism and the Islamabad regime are trying hard to thwart the national reconciliation process, to prevent a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan situation and to preserve tense situation in that region of the world.

## U.S. STANCE ON MIDEAST CONFERENCE 'DIPLOMATIC GAME'

LD231136 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 23 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS — TASS political news analyst Boris Shabayev writes:

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has said in an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-QABAS that his country does not rule out the possibility of holding an international conference on the Middle East.

A similar statement was later made by Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for near Eastern and South Asian affairs, who is just back from a tour of the region.

Does this mean that the ice has finally broken in Washington and the United States is prepared to join the vast majority of other members of the world community, who see such a conference under U.N. aegis and with the unquestionable participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole real way of taking the problem of a Middle East settlement out of the impasse?

It would, alas, be premature to draw such a conclusion as Washington's position gives no grounds for optimism.

Remarks by both the White House chief himself and the State Department's main specialist on Middle Eastern affairs leave no doubt that the United States has not budged even a jot from its basic stand for direct talks between Arab countries and Israel, more precisely separate, one-on-one talks, as it hopes that this will make it possible to force Arabs onto their knees, perpetuate Israel's territorial gains won through aggression, and bury the Palestinian issue once and for all.

Dotting the i's, Murphy said bluntly that the conference's "purpose is to serve as the means to direct bilateral negotiations." Moreover, it should not, according to him, have any bearing either on the course of those "bilateral negotiations" or on their outcome.

He couldn't have put it in plainer words: under the flag of an "international conference" they are going to revive the bankrupt Camp David idea.

It is hard to say what kind of simpletons this diplomatic game is meant for. Most likely, it is being played for the sake of the American man-in-the-street who is not versed in politics.

Apart from him, no-one will ever believe that "all sides have asked that the United States take an active role" in a Middle Eastern settlement. This phrase by Murphy effectively reveals the rationale behind the whole gamble.

The Irangate scandal has seriously eroded trust in the present U.S. Administration not only in the United States itself but also among Middle and near Eastern quarters inclined to set their hopes on Washington's "peace-making" intentions.

King Husayn of Jordan has said openly that Arabs can no longer trust the United States.

The president of the United Arab Emirates, holding the United States responsible for the nearly seven-year-old war between Iran and Iraq, demanded that Washington review its policy in the region.

This is why U.S. diplomacy has to maneuver and pretend that it is seriously prepared to join efforts to achieve peace in the Middle and Near East.

The United States can really play an active role in a Middle Eastern settlement, but only on condition that it takes account of the common will of all Arab peoples, which oppose any attempts to use an international conference on the Middle East as a cover for separate deals with Israel of the Camp David kind condemned by the majority of the international community.

This is the position of the League of Arab States, which has been clearly expressed in the United Nations by its permanent observer there, Clovis Maksoud.

This is the position of all those eager to defuse the explosive situation in the long-suffering region in fact rather than in words.

## INDIA DENIES USSR NAVY USES INDIAN BASES

LD111705 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] New Delhi June 11 TASS -- An official spokesman for the External Affairs Ministry of India has refuted as being "unfounded and false" statements by American political figures quoted in the Western press that Soviet submarines use the Indian base on the Nicobar Islands. During a recent briefing for the local and foreign newsmen, he said, answering a question, that Soviet naval ships do not use any base on India's territory.

## PRAVDA REVIEWS USSR-GDR COMMISSION MEETING

PM111059 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR has been held in Moscow.

The commission session discussed questions of further developing and deepening economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the GDR and increasing its efficiency on the basis of the principled instructions put forward at the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Special attention was paid to making fuller use of possibilities for integrating the two countries' economic and scientific and technical potentials in the interests of accelerating the development of the USSR and GDR economies.

There was also an examination of questions connected with the active implementation of new forms of cooperation on the basis of direct links between USSR and GDR associations, enterprises, and combines and the creation of joint enterprises and collectives with the aim of purposefully using them to deepen scientific, technical, and production cooperation in every possible way, implementing the long-term program for cooperation in science, technology, and production through the year 2000, and fulfilling the targets of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. Specific measures and deadlines for creating joint enterprises were coordinated.

The parties determined additional measures aimed at broadening joint work in priority sectors of the USSR and GDR national economies, primarily in microelectronics, machine building, and power engineering.

Agreements were signed concerning the organization of mutual training stints for leading USSR and GDR industrial workers and specialists with a view to studying advanced experience of improving management, planning, and the economic mechanism in the two countries, and also concerning cooperation in modernizing GDR thermal power stations in the period 1987-2000 and cooperation in increasing the operational safety and efficiency of nuclear power station units in the USSR and the GDR.

The commission's work was conducted in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere, in a spirit of complete mutual understanding. A protocol was signed on the results of the session's work.

The Soviet delegation was headed by A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the GDR delegation by G. Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission.

## DEMONSTRATIONS IN BERLIN HERALD REAGAN'S ARRIVAL

LD121107 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 12 Jun 87

[Text] West Berlin June 12 TASS -- President Ronald Reagan arrived here today. Most stringent security measures have been taken in the city in this connection. West Berlin is actually in a state of siege. The main streets are patrolled by more than 10,000 armed policemen. Many streets have been fully closed to traffic. Hundreds of snipers are perched on rooftops and helicopters are constantly hovering above. On the ready are dozens of special [as received] motor vehicles with water cannons and for the clearing of barricades.

There is barbed wire around the building of the former Reichstag which the American President intends to visit. All "suspicious" persons are thoroughly frisked by policemen. A big anti-American demonstration involving tens of thousands of West Berliners was held here on the eve of Reagan's arrival.

## NETHERLAND'S LUBBERS, GDR'S HONECKER DISCUSS ARMS

LD051122 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 5 Jun 87

[Text] The Hague June 5 TASS -- Talks have ended here between Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, and Dutch Prime Minister Rudolph Lubbers. As both sides pointed out, the visit contributed to an improvement of relations between the two countries and strengthening of peace in Europe.

Erich Honecker met with the leaders of the Labour Party. It was stressed in the course of the conversation that in the present-day complex international situation great significance attaches to dialogue between the communists and social democrats. Despite the difference in the social systems in their countries, they are important partners in carrying out the policy of peace and realism in international relations. The Socialist Unity party of Germany and the Labour Party, says the announcement on the meeting, support all proposals directed at putting an end to the weapons race on earth and preventing its escalation into outer space.

At present there is a possibility to achieve specific results in the field of nuclear disarmament.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Labour Party favour an agreement on the elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe. This would open up the way to removal from the GDR and Czechoslovakia of the theatre missiles which were deployed as an answer to the deployment by the USA in Western Europe of medium-range nuclear missiles. Both parties believe that the creation in Central Europe of a corridor free from nuclear weapons will be an important contribution to lessening military confrontation.

## MOSCOW RADIO VIEWS FRG PEACE DEMONSTRATION PLANS

LD111050 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] Aleksandr Kurilin, our correspondent in Bonn, reports:

[Kurilin] Preparations for an antiwar demonstration to be held in Bonn, Saturday, are being completed.

The West German peace fighters' demonstration is being staged with the theme of complete elimination of INF missiles in Europe. Including the Pershing-1A missiles with U.S. warheads at Bundeswehr' disposal.

The mention of the Pershing-1A missiles is not coincidental. Official Bonn is seeking to retain the class of weapon, thus in fact torpedoing the chances for a possible INF missile agreement on the continent. In short, on one hand the Kohl government seems to be in favor of reaching an agreement on missiles of this class, but on the other hand it proposes conditions which cannot be called justified or least of all acceptable for the other side.

Disarmament adversaries in the FRG do not sit idly by. A campaign has been launched in the bourgeois mass media, the sole purpose of which is to prove the need for the West to retain unilateral military superiority over the Soviet Union. Incidentally, even FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's pronouncements are being disputed. Ostensibly, he is promoting detente with the East too consistently. However, something like excessive love of the Soviet Union can hardly be expected from the West German Foreign Minister. But even his stance, which more or less corresponds to the reality of international development, does not suit the local hawks, especially figures like Defense Minister Woerner and rightist politicians such as Dreher, Klein, and others.

It is precisely that policy which is an obstacle on the path of nuclear disarmament, a threat to the entire process of improving the climate of East-West relations, that numerous representatives of various FRG social and political organizations are going to demonstrate against on Saturday.

West German trade unions, the SPD, the communists, and Greens have all urged mass participation in the demonstration. It is expected that hundreds of thousands will participate in the demonstration which will conclude with a meeting. Saturday's demonstration might become the largest and the most powerful in the entire history of the peaceful antiwar movement in the FRG.

## DIPLOMATIC ROW WITH IRAN 'INITIATED' BY UK

PM101555 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 87 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Maslennikov 7 June dispatch under the rubric "Flow of Reports": "Britain-Iran: What Is the Real State of Affairs?"]

[Text] The last few days on the diplomatic front here have been marked by a considerable worsening of relations between Britain and Iran.

The matter began with the arrest of an employee of the Iranian Consulate in Manchester on a charge of violating road traffic regulations and "attacking a policeman." Tehran evidently decided not to be outdone: E. Chaplin, first secretary at the British Embassy, was detained in the Iranian capital. Whitehall considered itself insulted and announced the total closure of the Iranian mission in Manchester and the expulsion from the country of five diplomatic staffers who worked there.

The IRNA agency has reported that the Iranian authorities have responded by adopting a decision to expel five British diplomats from the country.

What, then, lies behind the present deterioration in Anglo-Iranian relations, which was quite clearly initiated by London? In an attempt to find the answer to this question commentators here draw attention to the fact that the present stage in the worsening of British-Iranian relations coincides with a period when the United States is threatening direct bombing raids on Iranian territory.

But if we speak of the purely British aspect of this matter and assume that London continues to travel the path which is now appearing in outline, the matter could reach the point where throughout the Near East Britain will preserve diplomatic relations only with Israel.

### UK Condemns Iranian Expulsion

LD112207 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 11 Jun 87

[Text] London June 11 TASS -- The British Foreign Office has condemned as a totally unjustifiable action by the Iranian authorities to expel another four British diplomats from the country. The Foreign Office pointed out the need for the restoration of "diplomatic balance" between the two countries.

At present the number of British diplomats in Iran has been cut down to 12. Iran has 16 embassy staff in Britain.

The news service of the British Broadcasting Corporation points out that British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe would urgently consider action in reply to Tehran's latest move.

## KAMENTSEV TALKS WITH SPANISH TRADE OFFICIAL

PM080907 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 May 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 28 May V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Miguel Angel Fernandez Ordonez, secretary of state for trade in the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Finance, and Commerce, who is in the USSR in connection with the third session of the Soviet-Spanish Mixed Intergovernmental Commission.

They discussed questions of further expanding trade and economic relations and the basic prospects for cooperation, including new forms of it such as industrial production sharing, the creation of joint enterprises, and cooperation in third countries' markets, which were reflected in the Long-Term Program for Developing Economic and Industrial Cooperation between the USSR and Spain signed that same day.

Jose Cuenca Anaya, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

## U.S.-SPANISH TALKS 'HIDE MILITARIST AMBITIONS'

LD291545 Moscow in Spanish to Spain 1900 GMT 28 May 87

[Text] The meeting in Brussels between Spanish Defense Minister Narciso Serra and his U.S. counterpart, Caspar Weinberger, has reaffirmed the total lack of progress in the long drawn-out negotiations on the reduction of the U.S. military presence in Spain. The stumbling block in the negotiations is the fate of 72 U.S. F-16 aircraft. The Spanish want these aircraft at the Torrejon base to be removed from national territory, but in Washington they do not want to know anything about this. The only thing the Americans agree to is the redeployment of their aircraft to the base at Moron, but never outside Spain.

If we listen to U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, the withdrawal of the F-16s from Spain would have, and we quote, catastrophic consequences for the defense of NATO's southern flank, unquote, catastrophic consequences, nothing more and nothing less. If we follow the logic of Caspar Weinberger, the Spanish should ponder their serious responsibility to NATO for the probable collapse of the defense of Western Europe. They can only escape such a big responsibility if they let all the F-16s stay on their territory. However, the logic of the Pentagon is a purely U.S. logic. In the United States they think that it is enough for the U.S. aircraft to stop being a nuisance to the inhabitants of Madrid and the surrounding area and then the problem being discussed in the negotiations — which have been going on now for 19 months — will simply disappear.

Washington is not going any further than submitting a merely symbolic proposal for the reduction of its military forces. Treating Spain like a junior partner, throughout the entire 9 months of negotiations, the representatives of the Reagan administration have not tired of repeating that the Spanish should think more about their contribution to the defense of the West and the strengthening of NATO's southern flank than about insisting on a considerable overall reduction of the U.S. military forces. But the issue does not only concern where to transfer the aircraft stationed at the base on the outskirts of Madrid; the Pentagon fears something else.

According to the logic of events, immediately after Torrejon the question of the military bases in Moron, Zaragoza, and Rota would have to be tackled — in other words, the total removal of the U.S. military presence as such. But the Americans cannot permit this. Moreover, in Washington's opinion the Spanish example could provoke a chain reaction in other countries, even among its NATO partners in whose territories there are U.S. military bases and where anti-U.S. sentiment is also sufficiently strong. The secrecy with which Washington enshrouds the negotiations on the reduction of its military presence in Spain cannot hide one obvious fact: The U.S. position in the negotiations, the sixth round of which will begin in a month, has been orchestrated and implemented according to the script — to leave in order to stay. For Washington the negotiations themselves are nothing more than a screen to hide its militarist ambitions. The Brussels meeting between the two ministers of defense is further proof of this.

## FINNISH FORCES CHIEF ARRIVES; MET BY AKHROMEYEV

PM271301 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 May 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Guest From Finland"]

[Text] On 25 May General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Finnish Defense Forces, arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

The guest from Finland was met at the capital's Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, and by generals and officers from the Soviet Armed Forces.

### Sees Sokolov, Departs

PM291139 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 May 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Departure Home"]

[Text] On 26 May Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received General J. Valtanen, commander of the Finnish Defense Forces, who was visiting Moscow.

A warm, friendly conversation on questions of mutual interest took place.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, took part in the conversation.

A. Karhilo, Finnish ambassador to the USSR, attended the meeting.

General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Finnish Defense Forces, left for home the same day.

The Finnish visitor was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

R. Helminen, military, naval, and air attache at the Finnish Embassy in the USSR, was among the send-off party.

## SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS ICELAND

PM291249 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Parliamentary Delegation Visit"]

[Text] Reykjavik, 20 May — A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by Ya.Ya. Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited Iceland from 17 through 20 May.

The group of deputies was received by T.G. Kristjansson, speaker of the Althing (parliament). The Soviet deputies and members of the Althing foreign policy committee held a conversation in which they exchanged opinions on key international problems, primarily in the disarmament sphere. The two sides expressed an interest in strengthening international security and in achieving progress in the disarmament talks.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies also had meetings with representatives of the public and the cultural and scientific circles in the country. The Icelanders showed great interest in various features of the policy of restructuring and the improvement of socialist democracy and in the processes of the renewal of all aspects of Soviet society's life.

## REPORTS ON CONTRA ATTACK ON HONDURAN ARMED FORCES CITED

LD041511 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 4 Jun 87

[Text] Havana June 4 TASS -- Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries had attacked a unit of Honduran Armed Forces, PRENSA LATINA reported on Wednesday.

Both sides had casualties in killed and wounded as a result of the contra attack on a Honduran Army observation post in a district of El Paraiso Department bordering on Nicaragua.

According to Honduran press reports, a group of 30 contras captured the observation post but were later knocked out, losing half their number.

In the view of the local population, the contras first crossed the border inside Nicaragua and then attacked the Honduran post to make the impression that the action had been carried out by Sandinists.

Their aim was to provoke a border conflict.

The circumstances of the armed clash in the volatile area of Honduran-Nicaraguan border will be undoubtedly investigated.

One conclusion can already been drawn, however.

The policy of subordinating Central American states' national interests to Washington's course towards "democratizing" revolutionary Nicaragua with the aid of Somocistas can only heighten mistrust and tensions in the region and bring more suffering to its peoples.

## NICARAGUAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON LENIN PRIZE AWARD

LD101635 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Jun 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Soviet journalists accredited in Nicaragua have met with Miguel D'Escoto, eminent state figure and foreign minister of the Republic, on the occasion of his being awarded the International Lenin Prize for strengthening peace among peoples.

[Begin video recording of D'Escoto in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] I will say frankly that my first reaction was a feeling of a sort of embarassment: Am I worthy of such a high award? But when I felt pride, for my people. You see, the Nicaraguan people are waging a heroic battle for peace in the most difficult conditions. This prize makes us Nicaraguans come into even closer contact with Lenin, that great personality of your state and of all mankind who was the passionate champion of peace. For this reason I am really happy to accept this high award, which is conferred on the Nicaraguan people in my person. I believe that the Soviet Union is a great torch which emits hope for the preservation of peace on our planet. Always in the vanguard of the overall struggle for peace, the Soviet Union has become the personification of ethical and moral norms in international relations. I admire the revolutionary principles and consistency of the foreign policy of the Communist Party of the fraternal Soviet Union, which provides food for deep thought for political and state figures and for philosophers in their search for paths to a new way of thinking in the struggle for the preservation of peace.

## BURO DISCUSSES ECONOMY, KAZAKHSTAN

020 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Jun 87

the "Vremya" newscast]

t] At a session held on 11 June, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined the tion of switching associations, enterprises, and organizations of the national omy to full financial autonomy and self-financing. A CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolution which was adopted on this question envisages that transfer will be carried out in stages over the period 1988-89. In doing so, a erentiated approach will be adopted, bearing in mind the specific features of the ous branches of the national economy.

as noted that the transition to full financial autonomy and self-financing creates necessary conditions for putting the provisions of the USSR draft law on the state rprise and association into practice.

ementation of the planned measures will be an important step toward carrying out decisions of the 27th party congress on radical restructuring of the management of national economy; strengthening the democratic elements in the activities of the r collectives; expanding the independence and responsibility of enterprise; and ncing the efficiency of production and the quality of output.

ty, state, economic, and public organizations are invited to intensify their anizational and political work aimed at actively introducing the principles of full ncial autonomy and self-financing into the work of the associations, enterprises, organizations. They are to regard this work as one of their most important tasks.

Politburo discussed the question of the work of the Kazakh republic party nization in the international and patriotic education of the working people. It noted that, with the all-round disinterested help of all the country's fraternal ples, the Kazakh SSR has achieved considerable successes in economic, social and tural development.

ations of equality, trust and mutual respect have been established among the many ional groups making up the population of the republic. At the same time, the former dership of the republic allowed distortions to occur in carrying out the ionalities policy and applying the principles of social justice, as well as in iding personnel questions. There was an appreciable slackening in the work of the ty committees in the international and patriotic education of the working people.

Politburo pointed out that deviations from the norms of party life and the lations of the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy that occurred in akhstan are intolerable. It instructed the party committees of the republic to take most resolute measures without delay to eliminate the shortcomings. All ifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, national exclusiveness and arrogance must regarded as infringing one of our greatest achievements: the fraternal friendship peoples and the national unity of Soviet society.

It was stressed that internationalism must manifest itself above all in a build-up of Kazakhstan's contribution to the country's unified economic complex; in an increase in the return from the scientific and industrial potential created in the republic; in active participation in resolving nationwide tasks; and in improving the living conditions of the working people of the republic.

Special attention was drawn to the further strengthening of the national cadres of the working class, primarily in the leading branches of industry. It was indicated that there is a need to be resolute in rooting out favoritism and the selection of employees on the basis of kinship, descent, local origin, and ties of friendship; and to work to ensure all the nationalities and national groups living in the republic are duly represented in the leading bodies, in the party and local soviet apparatus and in public organizations.

One of the main directions of organizational and political work among the masses must be the inculcation of firm internationalist convictions and patriotic feelings. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics and the kraykoms and obkoms are recommended to analyze the state of this work in depth in light of the guidelines of the 27th party congress and of the CPSU Central Committee January 1987 Plenum.

The session examined the question of defining more precisely the conditions of all-union socialist competition for the 12th 5 year-plan. With the aim of making socialist competition more effective, it was seemed necessary to concentrate it, in future, on the labor collective themselves. Competition must be orientated as much as possible toward achieving high-quality production; saving resources; strict observance of deliveries according to contract; assimiliating the achievements of science and technology and of front-rank experience; and acceleration in the construction of housing and of social and cultural amenities.

The conditions of competition are to be more precisely defined so as to make it more meaningful and take better account of local conditions.

Certain other matters of domestic and foreign policy were also discussed at the session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

## UKRAINE REPLACES MINISTER OF CONSUMER SERVICES

### New Minister Profiled

AU100942 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Jun 87 p 1

["A Decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Anatoliy Yakovlevich Gil Ukrainian minister of consumer services.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

City of Kiev, 5 June 1987

Born in 1937, A.Ya. Gil has been a CPSU member since 1962; he graduated from the Kramatorsk Industrial Institute, and is a mechanical engineer.

He began his career as drill operator at the Starokramatorsk machine building plant. He worked in administration as Kramatorsk Gorispolkom deputy chairman, first deputy chairman, and chairman in Donetsk Oblast. Since 1974, he has been working in the system of consumer services as chief of Donetsk Oblast consumer services administration, since 1979 as Urkrainian deputy minister of consumer services, and since 1985 as Ukrainian first deputy minister of consumer services.

He is the bearer of the Labor Red Banner Order, medals, and of a honorary certificate from the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

### Slinchenko Transferred

AU100941 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Jun 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidum has relieved Comrade V.I. Slinchenko of the duties of Ukrainian minister of consumer services in connection with his transfer to another job.

## RAIN CAUSES 'DISASTROUS' SITUATION IN GEORGIA

LD091646 Moscow Television Services in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Jun 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent N. Gongadze]

[Text] There is a disastrous situation in a number of rayons of Georgia because of heavy rain and the rapid snow thaw.

The force of the natural phenomenon was especially felt by the inhabitants of (?Shaktussuriysk). Just yesterday evening we filmed an almost renovated section of the Military Georgian Highway which had been destroyed by a powerful blow from the mud torrent the day before.

But this morning the mountain mudlfow again attacked the locality. Some 1.5 million cubic meters of earth and stone, mixed with water, have moved almost 100 km and have descended with force on the road and villages. In a number of places the height of the mudflow reaches 6 meters. In the Dushetskiy Rayon Village of Chokhelmi 15 houses were completely destroyed, and 6 people died. Landslides damaged a trunk communications line and destroyed bridges and power lines.

In these days it is particularly hard for the shepherds, who are driving their flocks of sheep to the summer pastures.

In the opinion of experts and forecasters, the plentiful rainfall that is expected here could exacerbate the situation. For that reason, it has been decided to evacuate 300 families from the dangerous sections. Restoration work is being carried out, and barriers against the mudflow are being built that are capable of withstanding the pressure of the mountain torrents. [video shows houses under water; trucks overturned; shepherds and families being evacuated by helicopters.]

## PRAVDA CARRIES READERS' LETTERS ON RESTRUCTURING

PM101651 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 1987 Second Edition carries on page 2 a full-page feature headlined "On Restructuring. Letters to the CPSU Central Committee" which reprints a selection of signed letters under five general headings: "Time Does Not Wait," "Learning From Lenin," "Work, Democracy," "What Is Hindering Renewal," and "Defending With Words and Deeds."

The heading "Time Does Not Wait" groups six letters on issues relevant to the restructuring theme. The letter from V. Brikovskis, Lithuanian SSR, reads in full:

"My heart is so full of impressions from M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum that it is quite simply impossible for me to remain silent. What do people think and how are they taking restructuring?

"I will not lie to you, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, since this would only harm the common cause. I will tell the plain tuth.

"I'm not talking about the privileged stratum of the population. So everything is clear. Many people, as though in a drug-induced sleep, would like to continue swimming with the current through a land of milk and honey.

"I'll be talking about the proletariat. Those for whom this restructuring is intended. Unfortuately, there is at present little real, deep comprehension of or faith in restructuring. But this must not seem unexpected. After such an awful, protracted 'winter,' it is difficult waiting for the bones to thaw out. It will be a long painful process.

"But everything will be all right in the end.

"Mikhail Sergeyevich, your like-minded followers have only two wishes:

"1. That you proceed along the planned path without stumbling or faltering.

"2. Be very vigilant. Because 'winter's' servants still surround you on all sides.

"I am a sincere Catholic believer. Every Sunday I go to church and pray that God will refrain from punishing the world for our sins. You are, of course, an atheist, but despite that, your deeds and behavior show that certain believers must learn from you. Therefore please know that I will pray to God for you and your family in church every Sunday from 9 am to 1 pm."

In his letter under the same heading V. Berezhanskiy, a driver from Zhitomir, supports the restructuring concept but considers that at the moment there is "smoke and no flames," that is, there is a lot of talk about restructuring but few actual results. He believes that a "push" is needed to get things moving. He describes the "show" that people in the provinces put on when they hear that a party leader is coming to visit their town, and urges that the reasons for such a performance be investigated.

Under the heading "Learning From Lenin" PRAVDA publishes four letters. The first, contributed by M. Fedorov from Sharlyk in Orenburg Oblast, states in part: "I am a most fervent supporter of restructuring. Back in 1969 I told Communists that mistakes were being made in domestic policy. For this my case was discussed at a party meeting. In 1983 I again voiced my unease at the stagnation of society. One rayon leader threatened me with the KGB." He concludes by urging that everyone study Lenin to avoid making policy mistakes.

The next letter, signed simply Belushkin, Moscow, says: "All or almost all the phenomena of an antisocial order, the so-called negative tendencies in the life of Soviet society, and indeed the measures to overcome them are examined in the periodic press and in that literature of a sociological, publicist, and artistic plane that has successfully emerged in the wake of the party congress from the position of 'pure' psychology, universal morality, abstract justice, and so forth. Sociopolitical and ideo-theoretical problems are reduced to the level of psychology, everyday awareness, and personal and interpersonal relationships.

"A wave is building up under this convenient cover which threatens to sweep away the accumulated and still-preserved sociopolitical, economic, and spiritual values of socialism. Petit bourgeois anarchism is becoming increasingly aggressive and encroaching on the review of the history of the emergence and consolidation of socialism and of the working class and its party. It doesn't stop at denigrating the tasks, goals, and consequences of the country's socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture and at demanding the rehabilitation of the opposition factions and groupings within the party exposed in their time. There is no need to search for facts and examples to corroborate this -- they are there before our eyes, as they say.

"I am profoundly convinced that, in the course of the restructuring process, in theoretical and practical political activity these deficiencies must not only be completely eliminated but also compensated for by the elaboration and implementation of an entire system of tangible measures aimed at improving the political relations of our society and at enhancing the working class' leading role in it. Without this the complete restoration of the authority and political influence of the party itself and its fulfillment of its mission is impossible."

The section "Work, Democracy" incorporates letters which indicate the varying degrees of success with which democratic processes are being introduced and implemented at plan and local levels, including one which questions the role of the press in relation to "bunglers and bureaucrats."

Four letters are assembled by PRAVDA under the heading "What Is Hindering Renewal." V. Afanasyev, a CPSU member from Bolshevo, Moscow Oblast, writes that, while acknowledging the need for restructuring and the new thinking, "...there is a danger that the main thing -- the essence of the restructuring process -- will get lost in all the fuss. It was like this in the past, but it has been 'well' forgotten." In his view, "The electiveness of a leader is a correct business, but it is imperative that he be accountable to the enterprise's collective organ. We have been electing leaders for a long time, but it's a purely formal business. Thus nice guys can get elected instead of exacting ones; superficial people instead of experts. The organization has had 10 directors in as many years, and the same number of chief engineers, but the collective has displayed indifference toward this. The 'bosses' and the 'drivers' have been changed. People have looked on and waited.

"Those who resisted the mass inertia and the mass indifference, those who raised their voice against the cult of personality, those who were driven into a corner -- these people should not be forgotten. They must be found. They are capable of accepting and implementing restructuring."

A. Smitskiy, of Kiev, asks in his letter why many enterprises are only paying lip service to restructuring. Many officials remain irresolute and play it safe, unwilling to commit themselves to the new forms of management. Here, in his opinion, "The main evil is protectionism": "For many years we have connived at protectionism, many people have even begun to regard this phenomenon as inseparable from our way of life." Without the protection system, the writer asserts, it would be practically impossible to obtain consumer goods, building materials, and even medicine -- not to mention getting an apartment and the acquisition and repair of motor vehicles. "You get the impression that the shortage of certain goods is created systematically and not without design. This gives rise to the exchange of services and speculation. Visit any family on a public holiday and you'll see on the table products which you practically never find on the shelves of our stores." In Smitskiy's opinion, more terrible even than this form of protectionism is "careerist protectionism": "Everything goes here -- hypocrisy, idle talk, lies, servility toward superiors, degradation, bribery, gossip, and so forth. Ability is the only thing you don't need. The appointment of untalented people to leadership positions inflicts great harm on the national economy and -- the main thing -- on people, on their moral makeup." "...None of these people who have become leaders via protection will voluntarily renounce the privileges they are enjoying. Pressure must be applied.

"I am convinced that, right now, the conditions have been created for declaring a decisive struggle against protectionism in all its forms and manifestations. This disease has so taken root in our life and consciousness that it will take decades to eliminate it. So this struggle should begin today.

"What is required, I suppose, is the adoption of an appropriate CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the said issue."

There follows a letter from Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Zabelin of Moscow calling for "the right to full economic independence and self-management" for enterprises, which "in the conditions of the established cooperative ties should not lead to disorganization in the national economy." Moreover, he claims, enterprises which have to learn to pay their way will quickly learn to manage their affairs "better than any Gosplan and Gossnab. In a word, it is necessary to restore here those economic methods and levers which were so hastily and shortsightedly abandoned after NEP under the guise of the struggle for socialism."

However, in the final letter in this group A. Uskov from Moscow points out the existence of two contradictory concepts -- "Law" (controlling the status quo) and "Restructuring" (denying the status quo). "The law and restructuring are not always compatible. The courts and the banks do not have the right to allow deviations (restructuring included) from ratified legal acts..." People do not want to be punished for using their initiative. "They need legal guarantees which, clearly, must accompany restructuring in all its manifestations."

Under the heading "Defending With Words and Deeds" V. Vodyanitskaya, a CPSU member from Donetsk, maintains that "You should not accuse people for wanting to see the rapid results of restructuring" for, in her opinion, "There must be no delay." "People who have distorted reality and engendered disorder by exploiting their official position and resorting to base methods" are still firmly in place.

A. Chernoborodko (a CPSU member from Kiev Oblast) warns that "...There are in our country, even in the party itself, very influential forces for whom restructuring goes against the grain. They persistently brake, sabotage, and undermine the revolutionary process of renewal. To hell with ideas as far as they are concerned. The main thing is retaining their privileges." The writer calls for a "guarantee of protection for those people who have the courage to joint the fight for restructuring. Its opponents have all manner of weaponry: power, the mutual cover-up, nepotism, kinship, hometown ties, and that terrible monster bureaucratism.

"No, they won't shoot you down with bullets, they won't hack you through with a sabre, they won't poison you with gas, but... You'll be driven to suicide, infarction, stroke, paralysis; the innocent will be pursued through the courts, imprisoned, his future ruined, brains and soul turned inside out."

If, the writer concludes, "we are calling on people to do battle for a state cause, then the state is fully obliged to assume their defense."

## 'DEFERENCE' HAMPERS OPEN DEBATE IN PARTY

PM081011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 87 Second Edition p 2

[Viktor Kozhemyako article under the rubric "Journalist's Notes": "Discipline or Deference?"]

[Text] What is argued particularly often today concerning restructuring? The fate of restructuring probably concerns everyone. But not everyone is united on how best to pursue it. There are such varied opinions on the subject that it is hard to get a grip on them straight away. Moreover, the ideas sometimes sound simply contradictory.

Say, for instance, the party sets its sights on developing democracy. Good, some people say, that is just what is needed! But others -- more or less clearly -- have their doubts. Are we ready for the level of democracy proposed? Will it not lead to a shaking of foundation and a weakening of discipline, which, to be honest, is not all that strong in many places anyway?

"See how far things are going!" exclaims the writer of a letter from Kustanay Oblast, who for some reason did not want to give his name. "At the raykom plenum the first secretary criticized a number of farms in his report for shortcomings in cadre work. The party committee secretary from one of these sovkhozes asked to speak and started objecting. He even criticized the raykom, which, to his mind, itself failed to devote the necessary attention to cadres and was carried away with petty tutelage. I'm sorry, but if we are all going to take this attitude to the assessments of representatives of leading organs we will be going too far. Today it is a raykom secretary's words that mean nothing to you, but tomorrow..."

That was how he finished -- with a meaningful ellipsis. It is not hard, incidentally, to figure out what he had in mind. Disintegration is just around the corner. Just wait, someone will object to an obkom secretary. What will happen to discipline then?

That is a serious question. It cannot just be brushed aside. It is necessary to reread the letter and think it over. To think about many things, and more attentively and thoroughly at that.

It is a pity, of course, dear reader, that you and I are unable to visit this rayon and investigate on the spot just which of these people is actually in the right -- the higher-level secretary or the lower-level secretary. The address is unfortunately not given. But we will not stick to the conventional, but very dubious, "wisdom" that whoever has more rights -- that is, whoever has a higher official position -- is always correct, since in this case this familiar "wisdom" is fundamentally wrong. All party members, irrespective of their position, are equal before the party rules, we say. This means everyone may express their opinion during the party discussion that is a raykom plenum, and everyone may defend their viewpoint, put forward criticism irrespective of their position (in a pointed and specific way, needless to say), and suggest proposals.

We talk about this but let us take a closer look at how things are in practice -- in real life. The 27th congress has been held and the January plenum is over, a great deal has advanced and changed around us, yet this mentality of not objecting to one's "superiors" is still strong. Criticism of "superiors" still seems so unusual to some people that they literally scream with indignation, just as the above letter does.

Habit . . . How deep-rooted it is in our country! For many years we grew accustomed to the formal and ostentatious nature of plenums and now we find it painful to get out of the habit straightaway.

After the January Central Committee Plenum I reread a load of newspapers containing articles on the plenums of local party committees. Had they changed in comparison with what had gone before? Undoubtedly! There was less ostentation and more criticism and professionalism. But one thing clung on quite strongly: Criticism of republic, oblast, city, or rayon leaders was still a rare phenomenon. Particularly criticism of so-called top people. The phenomenon is so rare that at many plenums there are simply no cases of criticism.

True, a new approach has appeared. At certain plenums the first secretary, delivering this report, provides a brief assessment of the work of the bureau members, including his own work. This is a critical assessment, with the accent on what ought to be rectified. That is undoubtedly progress. But why do none (literally none!) of the speakers discuss the shortcomings in the work or behavior of the first secretary? Does this brief one-line self-criticism really cover everything? I doubt it somehow.

No, whatever way you look at it, going through the motions is by no means a useful occupation. So we will not militate for such an approach -- even if it goes beyond the report, when debate participants are coached beforehand along the lines of "You criticize me for such and such and I'll criticize you . . . " This is still just a show in which the directors encounter nothing unexpected and there is not the slightest openness [otkrytiye]. Everything is scripted in advance from start to finish!

But there should be openness [otkrytiye]. A leader who, under the conditions of democracy, is not sheltered from fair comradely criticism should be able to take a detached view of himself. To hear the truth about himself and draw specific conclusions for the future. This is what often is missing.

I talked with A. Pelikh, one of the most senior officials at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department. He clearly remembers how certain first secretaries who had previously been removed for serious shortcomings in their work and behavior were nominated. They were nominated, naturally, as the best, most able, and most hopeful candidates. And what a start they made!

They were dynamic, enterprising, and purposeful. So why did those legitimate hopes finally come to nothing? Why did things end up so badly?

"You know, the hardest thing is to spot just when a person in an important leadership position starts changing for the worse," my interlocutor told me. "Where is that invisible point, where is that insidious watershed? Quite honestly, you just can't say."

People still sometimes say that things are clearer from on high. We will dispute that formula. Things may be clearer, but by no means always. The acutal inspector or instructor in a republic Central Committee department who has been put in charge of a certain oblast -- how often will he visit it? How much time will he spend talking to local workers? Not much, and, needless to say, you certainly won't be able to spot everything under such conditions.

Things are clearer to people who constantly live and work alongside the first secretary. They can (and should!) notice when and how a leader starts taking the wrong turn. They must immediately tell him, draw attention to the matter, and rectify it. Unfortunately, they often fail to do so. They are wary and almost embarrassed — after all, he is the first secretary.

"We were embarrassed" . . . That is their justification in retrospect. This deference for authority that shackles even members of high elective organs and keeps their mouths shut reduces genuine collegiality at work to zero.

Here we probably need at least two conditions: the requirement to tell the truth and the requirement to accept it. These conditions are interrelated and interdependent. In our best and strongest party organizations this is constantly remembered, taken into account, and used for guidance. A healthy party atmosphere encourages people to express their opinions candidly during the discussion of any question. Without fearing bitter consequences. Because they know there will be no consequences -- business is business. Leaders feel a need to listen to the truth about themselves to correct their actions.

We hope such an atmosphere will quickly be created everywhere! Time itself demands this and demands the consistent restoration of Leninist principles everywhere and in everything. Vladimir Ilich urged: "Do not see 'intrigues' or 'counterweights' in people with different opinions or different approaches -- they should be valued as independent people." At a meeting of Moscow party workers on 27 November 1918 he said: "We know that management without mistakes is impossible. But apart from mistakes we observe the unskillful utilization of authority or its own sake, when people say: I have authority, I have given an order and you must obey." It was also Lenin who said the famous words: "Less of the Tit Titych approach ('I may give my approval or, then again, I may not')"...

Yes, there is the power of authority and there is the authority of power. Or, to use Lenin's words, a leader either operates by dint of his greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent, or he simply oppresses people with his bureaucratic authority. We know what such methods entail. Stagnation.

We need to learn from past mistakes in order to avoid repeating them. In many places, let us be blunt, it is necessary to relearn party discussion.

It is necessary to learn to discuss matters frankly and in a principled fashion, to argue, and to openly express opinions without fear of getting into a dispute with a "superior." Without excessive deference to authority. Such people must learn to accept views that are at variance with their own.

Incidentally, this applies not only to official discussions but also to everyday relations, so to speak. I remember a case I encountered in Tataria some time ago. A meeting of secondary school graduates in Mamadyshskiy Rayon was addressed by a kolkhoz chairman. He greeted the kids with his own poetry. F. Sibagatullin, first secretary of the party raykom, liked it. "Publish it," he told the editor of the raykom newspaper. "But it only sounds good," editor M. Khanafiyev objected. "I'm telling you to print it!"

The newspaper did publish a report on the meeting, but it was not quite the way the first secretary wanted. The editorial office retained only those lines of poetry amenable to literary correction. But imagine, that was enough to lead to a sharp change in the raykom secretary's attitude toward the newspaper editor. People started seeking various sins and peccadillos in him, and it ended with Khanafiyev ceasing to be editor.

People in Kazan would probably say that Sibagatullin is a strong secretary and Khanafiyev really did have shortcomings which could not go unnoticed. Quite right. However, would those shortcomings have been discovered if the editor had obeyed the secretary in everything without demur, not daring to object to anything even if he was firmly convinced he was right?

It is very possible they would not have been discovered, at any rate it is accurate to say that they would not have been ferreted out with such relish.

How many different examples come to mind of "obliging" and "agreeable" personnel flourishing for many years and permitting themselves to act utterly unworthily while taking pains to observe the hierarchical rules of service subordination! Unthinking silent deference to authority is clearly to some people's taste.

When in the Ukraine I traveled specially to the Kiev Obkom where Grigoriy Ivanovich Revenko recently became first secretary. The talk turned to how he worked initially, what difficulties he encountered, and what particularly concerns him. Somehow we found ourselves on the subject of collegiality again.

My interlocutor frankly said that he was suspicious of the universal agreement he initially encountered at bureau and plenum sessions. Is is possible to build relations in party committees in such a way? He was convinced not. It was hard to break with a tradition that had grown up over the years. But nonetheless he started restructuring relations. Several bureau sessions were held with "open agendas." They discussed the work and behaviour of all the members, including the first secretary. At first he was discussed very cautiously; most people restricted themselves to compliments. Then gradually at subsequent sessions the conversations became more open.

But the first secretary is going further. Before the obkom plenum a questionnaire was disseminated among the aktiv: "How do you feel the influence of the party obkom and its secretaries during the period of restructuring?" It was agreed that there was no reason to fear the sometimes unsigned replies. The numerous opinions were analyzed at the plenum. This turned out to be very useful.

Revenko now has a new idea: Obkom secretaries should report to plenums. Maybe he could be the first.

"Why?" he asked himself, as if checking his own logic. "A great deal depends on the first secretary, certain people still look up to me as their superior. I want us to talk on equal terms, as people in the party should."

I wholeheartedly wished him success. I hope his best designs come to fruition and that genuinely principled relations with no undue deference to rank or position will be asserted.

Someone may ask: What about discipline?

The CPSU Rules answer that question quite clearly. Discuss and argue, prove and defend your opinion in the process of working out decisions. Utilize to the full your party right to discussion and criticism. But when the numerous ideas merge into a collectively adopted document, the authority of party duty comes into play: Be so good as to make every effort to ensure that what is planned is fulfilled. Therein lies the essence of party discipline.

Let us be blunt, this rule is by no means followed everywhere and by everyone as yet. Not all party members are really concerned about implementing "their own" decisions. Restructuring will help us to merge the democratization process with the resolute strengthening of discipline.

There is no doubt that we will ensure that our discipline becomes stronger. Labor discipline, production discipline, and party discipline. While enhancing leaders' real authority, we will not be scared to criticize them. In activating party and social thinking during the formulation of collective decisions we are also stepping up demandingness and personal responsibility for the implementation of decisions. It is thus that we shall triumph!

## REFORMS DEMAND PRIMACY OF SOCIAL INTERESTS

PM091533 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Interests of Society Above All Else. Our Goal Is the Renewal and Development of Socialism"]

[Text] Reflecting on mankind's progress, V.I. Lenin pointed out: "Interests 'propel the peoples' lives.'"

The need for the constant renewal and development of socialism is not abstract talk but a living requirement for Soviet people. We want more dynamism and creativeness, organization and order, more social justice and democratism, openness and collectivism in our society. We want all possible growth of productive forces and the intensification of the economy. Such are the public interests, the interests of each of us. Restructuring has shown the close, indissoluble link between personal and collective interests and the interests of the whole people.

The entire practice of socialist building convinces us that no one's well-being can be stable if the needs of society as a whole are ignored. [paragraph continues]

These needs cannot be reduced to the sum of the interests of workers or labor collectives, although they absorb the most substantial, long-term interests of each and every individual. Their unique substance is connected with ensuring integrity in the development of the national economy and defending the highest social values. This is why we place the interests of society above all else. This is why now, in the course of elaborating the new economic mechanism, it is so important to find levers making it possible to combine in the optimum way local initiative and the independence of enterprises with centralized planning and to channel personal and collective interests in the direction of the interests of the whole people.

The further democratization of our life is a necessary condition for this. The party policy of carrying it out is resisted by those who do not know how to or do not want to work without the usual stereotypes and who fear responsibility. As a result, a very important party cause is profaned, the social activeness of working people is stifled, and their hopes pinned on restructuring are undermined. Examples of this are the accumulation of regulations governing the nomination of local soviet candidate deputies, the so-called elections of economic leaders where aspirants are approved in advance, the attempts by ministries, departments, and individual organizations to "classify" information... Party committees must make a principled assessment of such actions and help labor collectives and their leaders to learn to live in an atmosphere of broad democratization.

Strict observance of the interests of the whole people in the economy is of special significance. Coordinating personal and collective economic interests rationally and skillfully with public interests means bringing into play the profound forces of social progress and directing them toward resolving tasks that are urgent from the viewpoint of society. Today this means qualitative transformations in the national economy, the cardinal acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the enhancement of production efficiency. The synchronous nature of economic interests can only be ensured when what meets the public interests is advantageous for labor collectives and individual workers.

The rational combination of interests also makes it possible to largely remove the dilemma of material and moral incentives. The latter must not be regarded as a prop for badly fitting elements of the economic mechanism. To secure the fulfillment of an important state target, but one that is economically not advantageous for an enterprise, people start to appeal to a sense of duty, to lofty moral principles. Ensuring public priorities in this way means disregarding elementary economic truths and creating preconditions for permanent shortages and imbalances in the national economy.

People still frequently try to replace persistent, painstaking, creative work on coordinating interests with naked references to "considerations of a higher order." Readers write to PRAVDA about just this, analyzing the transfer of enterprises to multishift working in various cities. All are unanimous: This is a necessary measure. But people are resolutely opposed to formalism in introducing the second and third shifts. Indeed, what, if not the desire to report back as soon as possible, can account for the setting up of several shifts in places where workers do not have enough to do in one shift and machine tools stand idle? But even when multishift working has been prepared organizationally, it must not be introduced in the form of an order, citing public interests. Economic, social, and psychological backup for this step is also needed. Of course, this is not easy. But the necessary results can only be achieved in this way.

Communists and party committees must struggle uncompromisingly against those who substitute narrow departmental interests for those of the whole people. How much criticism has been and is being leveled at the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, for example, for the fact that its technical policy is badly coordinated with the needs of agriculture. It is still not really being restructured. The stand taken by Communists in the ministry apparatus, many of whom contribute in one way or another to the unshakable nature of "monopolism" in their sector, is incomprehensible.

Contrasts between departmental interests and those of the whole people flourish in an atmosphere of secrecy and lack of openness and control over the activities of the management apparatus. It is time to think about how to transform ministries from purely sectorial organs into organs of the whole state responsible for satisfying a particular section of public requirements.

Different interests exist in specific production relations. It is important for management organs to be able to evaluate them correctly: It is inadmissible both to exaggerate and to underestimate the personal, collective, and all-state significance of a particular interest. Every collective and every working person must strive to achieve the national economic end results that society needs. We cannot tolerate, for example, the fact that an enterprise opposes the introduction of efficient equipment: It might be advantageous to society, but its own profitability will fall. Or conversely: It readily introduces even means of production which are inefficient from the public viewpoint if they promise growth in individual profit.

The party is resolutely opposed to any deviations in the practice of distribution relations from the chief principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It must be followed even when distributing means of production and capital investments. Let certain advantages be derived where people know how to manage resources better and secure from them the greatest national economic effect. At the same time, we need a system of clear and unambiguous responsibility to society on the part of enterprises and ministries for the efficient use of the resources at their disposal.

The nationwide interest in the success of restructuring has demonstrated that the majority of Soviet people understand that their interests are inseparable from the interests of the collective and of society and depend, above all, on the satisfaction of public requirements. This is why the chief demand in all our affairs is to place the interests of society, the country, and the state above all else.

## STANDARDS CHIEF VIEWS ROLE OF STATE ACCEPTANCE

PM090835 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 May 87 p 2

[A. Semenov interview with G. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards, under the heading "Quality and Standards"]

[Text] Among the major economic decisions taken in our country recently, a special place belongs to those relating to production quality. These problems, judging by readers' letters, are a source of lively interest to them. G. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards, today answers questions prompted by the editorial mailbag.

[Semenov] Georgiy Dmitriyevich, the majority of questions in readers' letters concern the state acceptance system in one way or another. Many of these questions have already been answered by your specialists through SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. But here is a question which has not yet been widely discussed: Is the introduction of state acceptance not an attempt to resolve the problem of quality by a purely administrative measure?

[Kolmogorov] First of all, no one intends to shelve administrative methods of management. Second, and this is the main point, the party and the government have outlined and are implementing an extremely broad complex of measures, mainly economic, to ensure that a high standard of production quality is always profitable and disregard of this criterion is always ruinous. Surely production workers must have already felt the impact of this in practice and must be aware of the degree to which their incentive funds today depend on technical standards and production quality? In short, the state acceptance system is just one of the measures to back up the new approaches to price formation, the distribution of economic accountability-based income or profit, and the organization of the most important production developments on a competitive basis...

[Semenov] In many letters readers directly link failure to meet plan targets with excessive faultfinding by controllers from the USSR State Committee for Standards. They cite a great many examples where products needed by the national economy and the population are left in the plant yard, thereby exacerbating the problem of shortages. Perhaps it is really better to have a bird in the hand then two in the bush....

[Kolmogorov] Can you honestly tell me that a shortage has ever been filled by a badly manufactured commodity which no one wants? No, I believe that it is better to have two birds in the hand. Shortages? Let us not intimidate one another with the prospect. Shortages may arise in the process of cardinal restructuring. But they will be shortages of high quality products. They will be reduced with time -- as supply and demand balance out.

But at present the real situation is such that the quality control levers built into the economy cannot work automatically as intended if there is no corresponding mechanism to assess quality.

You yourself are aware that under today's conditions a manufacturer could still ensure the profitability of his enterprise by means of "gross output" rather than by tightening up requirements relating to production quality. When a product is in short supply people take what is available. That is why poor quality spare parts, units, and materials still form clots in the arteries of cooperative ties.

can the economic accountability mechanism get going under these conditions? A ve belt is needed -- objective extradepartmental verification.

menov] Can one deduce from this that verification of this nature in the form of te acceptance is a temporary measure? Incidentally, in their letters some readers predicting its early demise -- the argument they give for this is that the economic ountability mechanism will begin to work automatically.

lmogorov] A difficult question.... But one this is certain -- this is a long-term sure. In addition to the acute need for it at the present stage of smoothing out economic mechanism, it also has other long-term advantages. For example, thanks to ependent quality control, we have been able to minimize the time taken for feedback m the consumer to reach the manufacturer.

s is what often happened, for example. The experimental model and even the first signment would be good. But then, for one reason or another, the quality would in to deteriorate. But, in order to make the necessary amendment to the production ocess, one had to wait for complaints to come in and gather statistics relating to rejection of these products in the exploitation process. Meanwhile, these fective products would continue to circulate for months on end, scattered all over country, so to speak. But now the feedback is almost immediate. Having registered defect in a finished product, the state acceptance system immediately sweeps back rough the whole quality control system. "Sounding out" every link in the production ocess -- right up to the persons responsible for monitoring raw and other materials components -- it accurately homes in on breaks in this chain which have led to paired quality.

t this function can and must be fulfilled by the plant technical control department. is will happen with time. The production workers themselves are becoming creasingly aware of the need for a smooth-running technical control service.

at is why the main issue lies elsewhere. In the future, when quality will largely be gulated by the economic accountability system, should there be someone, a specific, dependent individual, to determine a product's real quality? People will reasonably ject that this would be done best of all by the consumer himself. Under those nditions, they say, a bad product simply would not have a chance of finding a buyer. is is all true. But only with regard to those goods with which the market is turated or close to being so. But what would happen, for example, with new products at were unique -- which would mean that the consumer would have no real choice? In nditions where sale of the product in question would be virtually guaranteed, the onopolist" could disregard quality.

reover, competitiveness as a means of improving quality is, naturally, not a good ea for all products. It is too expensive and unwarranted a luxury to aim for quality all goods by deliverately over-producing. It would simply be absurd if, for ample, power engineers were to chose a turbine as they would a coffee grinder. mplex, expensive goods must be manufactured in the numbers needed by the country. is is a reality in the context of the socialist method of economic management. This one of the advantages of our economy. Centralized planning and production stribution are now being improved. But it is not enough to make the plans balance. ntract pledges must be met in every case. Not only with regard to range and variety t also in terms of quality. This is where independent control is essential, because is intended to rule out the very possibilty of the manufacturer's being able to ctate in these conditions and the consumer's having no choice than to take what is on fer, grateful for anything.

In short, the state acceptance system must be regarded not only and not so much as an effective means of quality control as an effective form of overall quality managment. I consider this a promising aspect.

As is well known, extradepartmental quality control is in effect at 1,500 enterprises. This practice is to be extended to all the problem areas coming to light in the cooperative system. It is to be introduced at another 50 enterprises this year. But there is no need for this control system to include "absolutely everyone." If not all, then the overwhelming majority of participants in economic cooperation will gradually come under the control of the state acceptance system irrespective of whether state control has been set up at the enterprise in question or not. Whether they like it or not, all enterprises which fall within the orbit of any "base" state acceptance body will be obliged to comply with its requirements regarding the quality of raw materials, components, and other materials. Once begun, the chain reaction of introducing order in questions of quality will inevitably reach every work place.

[Semenov] Criticism of the "output" of the USSR State Committee for Standards itself -- all-union state standards -- has noticeably increased. Some readers consider them excessively rigid. Others, like V. Kondrichin from Grodno, are of the opposite opinion, that is, they regard all-union state standards as being too soft. They see the reason as being the procedure whereby they are drawn up: The process begins in the manufacturing sectors, whose workers try to mold the all-union state standard "to their advantage." Is it possible to increase the role played by the consumer in this process?

[Kolmogorov] It has already been increased. Until recently, it is true, standards developed as a rule into a kind of compromise between the manufacturer and the consumer. The standards system failed to orient designers toward seeking fundamentally new solutions and did not act as a barrier in the way of outdated equipment being produced.

We have had to review the relationship between the client and the manufacturer, proceeding from the fact that this relationship is now being built on the basis of economic accountability. So that, as the saying goes, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

One would think that in this situation there is no particular need to urge the consumer to defend his own interests. Nevertheless, this is now recorded in a legal document: The new edition of the State Standards System introduced on 1 January this year not only grants this right but -- and I stress this point -- obliges state standards workers and consumers to establish the above requirements in normative and technical documentation. Draft standards must be coordinated with the consumer. Those found guilty of unprincipled behavior and incompetence will be strictly called to account.

This does not, of course, in any way detract from production developers' responsibility. Who, if not they, are primarily responsible for the technical standard of a product? The manufacturer in turn has to ensure that his products are made in strict accordance with normative and technical documentation.

[Semenov] But what if a draft standard does not satisfy your experts?

[Kolmogorov] The State Committee for Standards lays down the requirements itself. [paragraph continues]

This is what we have done, for example, when setting all-union state standards for freight and passenger vehicles, buses, tractors, cotton picking machines, drilling machines, sucker rod pumps for wells, and industrial sewing machines.

[Semenov] But can the sides agree on what constitutes the "top" level?

[Kolmogorov] Of course. The economic mechanism in the process of being developed only serves to encourage initiative, by means of wholesale prices and appreciable price markups attached to them, in particular. Contracts may stipulate higher quality requirements in comparison to existing standards, technical provisions, and other documentation. Moreover, long-term contracts may oblige the parties involved to constantly improve the technical standards and quality of their products.

[Semenov] And what is your attitude to the opinion of those who, on the contrary, complain that some standards are excessively strict? This strictness does indeed often fail to correspond to the real production potential of the "average" enterprise.

[Kolmogorov] Well, on the one hand this confirms that, under pressure from the state acceptance system, many production workers are "discovering" standards for the first time, or at least some of their indexes. On the other hand, this shows that standards are gathering momentum.

Given their really high scientific and technical level, reasonable flexibility is necessary, of course. That is why at first the state acceptance system permitted some deviation -- but always with the consent of the consumer -- in those parameters which do not affect the basic quality of the product in question. But this would always be for a strictly determined period of 1-12 weeks. And it would be "in exchange" for a well thought out plan of measures.

[Semenov] Would not some people still prefer to take this course of action?

[Kolmogorov] It is the road to ruin. The shortest possible and the most direct. Under the conditions of economic accountability this will begin to affect wages, bonuses, and social benefits today -- not tomorrow.

This is where standards come in, to pull up production. Time is specially allotted to prepare for the introduction of every new normative and technical document. If necessary, the production unit concerned will be retooled, new technological processes assimilated, and cadres' qualifications raised. But we do not have the right to simply accommodate present potential. This has been stopped. It is economically absurd and even immoral for enterprises manufacturing products which no one needs to lead a comfortable existence.

[Semenov] The last question from the editorial mail. Some readers feel that under the present conditions, giving a product the Seal of Quality has lost its meaning. What is your opinion?

[Kolmogorov] This is a very widespread error. Many believe that every product which passes the state acceptance test is top quality. This, unfortunately, is not yet the case.

Special demands, that are far more rigid, are made of top quality products designated by the Seal of Quality. Goods bearing the Seal of Quality are given special attention by our workers. This esteemed mark not only retains its meaning but is perhaps for the first time finding the meaning originally invested in it on the basis of firm guarantees of state quality control.

## IZVESTIYA INTERVIEWS KOMIN ON PRICING POLICY

PM291127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with A.N. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, by correspondent V. Romanyuk under the rubric "Restructuring and the Economic Mechanism": "Prices: Hindrance or Stimulus"; last three paragraphs are editorial postscript]

[Text] During the IZVESTIYA correspondent's conversation with USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems Chairman I. Gladkiy (No 104) there was a discussion of one area of the economic reform -- the improvement of the pay system. Today the discussion will be about prices. The improvement of the people's well-being depends to a considerable extent on how working people are paid. But in no small measure also on the pricing system.

Before IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Romanyuk contacted the USSR State Committee on Prices there was a telephone call at the editorial office. An exasperated reader was sounding the alarm: "Have you heard the price of potatoes has more than doubled? Yet again this has happened secretly, on the quiet. What next?"

We asked A.N. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, for an explanation. Anatoliy Nikolayevich admitted that he himself had learned of the price increase from a friend. The price was set by the Moscow Gorispolkom and it is authorized to do so. The particular batch of potatoes was bought in the Baltic area...

[Romanyuk] Not in France?

[Komin] No, halfway there, purchased at contract prices from the population, so the price was higher. Anyway, I believe it is wrong that potatoes should be the same price all the year round. The price per kilogram should rise if the cost increases.

Unfortunately, for decades we have never linked the price system to expenditure on products in individual sectors and have never regarded pricing as an integral system. Consequently, enormous contradictions and distortions have accumulated in the price system. It was thought, for example, that the determining line in price policy was the reduction of the overall level of prices. And such factors as improvement of labor productivity and reduction in the prime cost of output were put forward in validation of this. This very formula appeared in the old edition of the CPSU Program. But, in fact, we have never reduced the overall level of prices. This must be made absolutely clear, particularly as the press, including IZVESTIYA, has raised the question why we are not pursuing a line of reducing the level of prices. There are no objective economic conditions for implementing such a line. After all, the improvement of labor productivity has always been accompanied by the growth of workers' and employees' pay -- both in production and nonproduction areas. So the economic impact is achieved.

[Romanyuk] But even middle-aged people remember well the postwar price reduction -- they were seen as a real manifestation of the state's concern for improving working people's living standards. You still see price reductions from time to time. Unfortunately, one is dealing more often than not with price rises, and whereas there are extensive announcements of reductions, we learn about increases mainly at the store counter, as was the case with the Baltic potatoes.

[Komin] Well, first the price reductions in 1949-54. It was a unique situation. We had just had the financial reform of 1947. Common prices were established instead of the "ration" (very low) and commercial (very high) prices. The common retail prices introduced then were on average three times higher than the prewar prices. During those years we managed to balance the money supply with the level of retail prices for consumer goods. Additional resources appeared in terms of food, textiles, clothing, and footwear, which had previously been used for military purposes. It is true that prices dropped, but a State Loan was announced -- approximately the size of the reduction. Output norms were revised once every 2 years, while keeping wage rates at the previous level. Incomes in the countryside were frozen and proper attention was not paid to the solution of housing, pensions, and a number of other problems. In 1953 restructuring began in the countryside -- purchase prices were raised and considerable funds began to be spent on social needs. There was a corresponding reduction in the potential for reducing retail prices.

[Romanyuk] But isn't the pricing system supposed to stimulate the economy? So far the most noticeable measures taken by the State Committee on Prices have been nothing more than banal price increases. As a rule, prices have settled at the new level, unless they have gone higher. Prices of carpets rose three times until buyers cooled toward them. Prices of fur products also increased three times, then they had to be reduced twice, again without any particular effect: The psychological factor experts call "customer apathy" came into play -- the goods are not selling. But who is responsible for mistakes of this kind? Readers are right to insist that the State Committee on Prices be more accountable for decisions which today promise some kind of benefit, but tomorrow result in losses.

[Komin] The overall level of prices has shown a minimum increase. In fact, I would say that a situation now exists where wholesale prices in raw material sectors are too low and these sectors are no longer paying their way. Many products are being sold at a loss as far as the state is concerned. How did this situation arise? In the past three decades purchase prices for agricultural products have risen 4.6 times, beef prices having increased 11-fold, but retail prices have changed hardly at all. Now we are selling meat at somewhat less than half the cost price and milk at one-half of the production cost. Butter, potatoes, vegetables, fish, many types of baked goods, and most types of groats are loss-makers for the state.

The country cannot live for long with a loss-making economy. But that is where we are headed if prices continue to perform exclusively distributive functions. In order to balance state income and expenditure we must obtain at least 35 percent net income from the sale of goods (at the moment it is around 32 percent). Until recently a significant proportion of the profit came from the sale of wine and liquor and of imported goods. Output of vodka and wine has now been reduced and fewer imported goods are being purchased. The range of goods on which it is possible to obtain extra profit remains very limited: Cars, gasoline, carpets, cut glass, jewelry...

[Romanyuk] But are you happy with retail prices, Anatoliy Nikolayevich?

[Komin] Of course not. I would like to acquire a high-class video recorder and stereo tape recorder. At the moment the prices are so high that I cannot fulfill my wish.

[Romanyuk] In fact, prices continue to increase...

[Komin] True. Despite our policy of stabilizing them.

[Romanyuk] This is precisely where our readers would take issue with you. For example, an alarm clock for R5 has become a rarity. You could buy one for R15-20 at best. Yet these "improved" alarm clocks have an even greater tendency to break down.

[Komin] It is not that easy to prevent goods from becoming more expensive when they are in short supply. The solution, as I see it, is to saturate the market with goods: Demand will fall and the price, rest assured, will drop.

[Romanyuk] So when goods are plentiful there follows a drop in prices?

[Komin] No, there would not be a general fall in prices. Individual goods are another matter.

[Romanyuk] But what about cut glass and carpets? There are trade figures which show that after the rise in prices the proceeds from sales of these fell sharply.

[Komin] We reduced the prices of these articles in 1986, which led to an upturn in trade. They will probably have to be reduced again, but it is too early to say at the moment. Overall, today's trade stocks do not exceed the normative.

[Romanyuk] But people's deposits in savings banks alone exceed R240 billion. And store shelves are groaning under the strain. Does this mean people do not like the goods -- in terms of the range, quality, and, perhaps, the price?

[Komin] People take one-half of this money out and then make new deposits. The other half just lies there doing nothing, in fact. In principle, savings are not such a bad thing. They provide people with a certain guaranteed standard of living and give them confidence in the future. But, of course, people's needs must be balanced against the potential for meeting them.

[Romanyuk] It is a pity that in the meantime less well-off families' interests are being damaged. For example, it is impossible to buy a quality suit for R70, yet about 10 years ago such articles were on sale.

[Komin] You would not wear that suit today: The majority of customers would not be happy with the style or the cut. The concept of "cheap goods" is changing. What was average in price yesterday is cheap today. And what was cheap is no longer on offer.

[Romanyuk] But how can young couples and pensioners manage?

[Komin] I repeat, the main way to solve the problem is to saturate the market with goods. Retail price discounts of 10-65 percent, totaling more than R2 billion, are available on material and other items for children's clothes. Perhaps young families should get direct financial subsidies.

[Romanyuk] What is the price index like today? Many think it is rising too much.

[Komin] In the past 15 years the state retail price index has risen by 8 percent in the country as a whole, which, given the increase in pay, pensions, grants, and other payments and benefits from public consumption funds, has essentially had no effect on the rate of growth of people's real incomes. But the consumer market has changed and demand has become more selective. Incidentally, the price index is published in the USSR Central Statistical Administration's annuals, although in its present form it does not give the whole picture. In some countries there are consumer prices statistics: The calculation is made on the basis of a "basket" of consumer goods. The "basket" contains the full range of daily goods for a particular category of the population. And it compares current prices with prices in past years. I believe that a price index based on a consumer "basket" reflects more fully the processes taking place in the economy and that we ought to introduce such statistics here.

[Romanyuk] Perhaps it would be better not to count up what is in the "basket," but to plan price groups of goods -- cheap, average, and expensive?

[Komin] Price groups should be planned. This, incidentally, is envisaged in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on improving planning in light industry and trade. Alas, this lever operates poorly at the "bottom," at the enterprise level. And how! By producing inexpensive articles a factory loses volume and profit. Who would agree to that today, in self-financing conditions?

[Romanyuk] Let us talk in this connection about industrial products. Many readers ask the reasonable question: Doesn't the somewhat superior quality of articles with the Seal of Quality or "N" index cost us dear? In light industry 25 percent of articles are deemed innovations and the price is increased in each case -- sometimes by as much as 100 percent. Essentially, the unbridled use of these distinguishing marks has become a way of obtaining an unwarranted increase in the price. There are simply no restrictions here because there is no clear-cut methodology -- what counts as an innovation? The debate is still continuing about the way to validate the degree of innovation, that is, the point where new prices should be fixed, about the way to determine the correlation between price and quality and create the optimum scale of additional amounts. Wouldn't it be better to abolish the additional amounts altogether and leave one requirement -- that it correspond to world standards and to consumer demands?

[Komin] I would not say that the "N" index is a godsend or the equivalent of inventing a perpetual motion device. It is just that no other mechanism has been found so far. For 13 years we have been adding certain amounts to wholesale prices for high-performance products and for 8 years we have been discounting obsolete articles. But we will not improve the technical standard by price alone. A range of questions has to be solved -- technology, production organization, cadre training. New ideas are needed, embodied in technical concepts.

[Romanyuk] But ideas have to be stimulated. Many economic managers complain about our economy being expensive or, rather, wasteful: The more metal and other resources they use the better. It does not pay to assimilate resource-saving or any type of advanced technology at all.

[Komin] Economic costs must not be blamed entirely on pricing. Here the entire economic flywheel turns on volume indicators. For a long time everything was geared to fulfilling volume, in rubles, what is more.

[Romanyuk] What about now? All the bodies which issue directives are demanding the fulfillment of commodity output volumes. And "commodity" means outlay again.

[Komin] We will never be able to avoid spending money. Marx himself said: The basis of value is outlay.

[Romanyuk] But for some reason the rubles grow whereas the articles are actually dwindling. K. Marx wrote in "Das Kapital": "...A thing cannot have value without being an object of consumption. If it is useless, then the labor that went into it was futile, it is not regarded as labor, and therefore no value is created."

[Komin] Value indicators have drawbacks. But no one in the world has abandoned them. How else do you measure volume except through price and value?

[Romanyuk] But how do you stimulate output of the articles the economy needs?

[Komin] Through contract prices, which create the closest possible bond between the interests of producer and consumer. I do not think that prices would rise sharply. Anyway, high prices are usually due to shortages. And the economy must be built on a shortage-free basis. Periodic falls in commodity prices and seasonal sales are normal phenomena.

[Romanyuk] Some experts in prices believe that the current pricing system is geared to the evolutionary type of technological development and makes no distinction between partially modernized, substantially improved machinery and fundamentally new machinery. "No matter how much they urge us to assimilate new technology," an economic manager I know told me confidentially, "their appeals will merely reverberate in people's ears until it becomes a profitable venture." But why is new technology a disadvantage for those who produce it?

[Komin] Do you believe that pricing does not serve the goals of technical progress? Not so. We have just revised the procedure for pricing new machine building products. It envisages establishing at the planning stage a maximum price which will then be the product's wholesale price. The designer and then the producer are obliged to keep within the maximum price. The maximum price stimulates initiative, because everything that is saved during planning and manufacture -- in materials and production costs -- will remain at the enterprise's disposal at the same price level.

[Romanyuk] One has heard a great deal about contradictions between price and plan. The factory, on receiving a tough plan in terms of volume indicators, endeavors to increase output of expensive articles and reduce output of cheaper ones. Of course, this is not done directly, but in the guise of "updating" the range, a formal procedure more often than not. Moreover, economic managers try to increase the prices of their own products.

[Komin] We are combating this phenomenon. On our suggestion, a proposal was inserted in the draft Law on the State Enterprise. Its purpose is to intensify monitoring of the strict observance of price discipline. We consider that an enterprise should forfeit unwarranted profit, that it should go to the budget, and be expunged from the plan fulfillment returns. We are also proposing the establishment of a procedure whereby an enterprise which is responsible for raising prices will also pay a fine to the budget equivalent to the illegally obtained profit.

[Romanyuk] But you yourself have said that an enterprise's activity is governed by value indicators. Outlay forms the basis of them. The creation of a fundamentally new article always requires a very considerable initial outlay. This should be flexibly taken into account when pricing the first batch. But the same thing is repeated over and over again: The State Committee for Prices tries to pack into the price of a new product all the costs at once. We know what this results in: Excessively high prices lead to a very cool attitude on the part of consumers.

[Komin] Not exactly. You have to take into account all the factors. Take machine tools with digital program control, for example. Only 3 years ago they were selling at world prices. But then we fell behind -- above all in electronics and microprocessor technology, because in other countries the cost price fell considerably. As a result the entire component base became over twice as expensive for us than on the world market. Saturating the market with electronics is an expensive business anyway. Moreover, we are having to pay for planning errors. In every price review planning and financial bodies demand first and foremost that the number of loss-making enterprises and the proportion of loss-making products be reduced to a minimum. This conceals faults in ministries' activity and errors in the plan. Those who make a poor job of updating products, who use resources uneconomically, and who are bad at assimilating new production capacities are objectively bound to remain in a loss-making situation. But sometimes they are no worse off than the leading performers.

The restructuring of the prices system demands the fundamental improvement of all pricing. It will be done on the basis of reflecting more fully at all stages of the production of material goods and services the socially essential labor expenditure that occurs in our economy. The State Committee for Prices sees as its chief task linking pricing to the solution of tasks of improving Soviet people's well-being.

[Postscript] The CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum stressed that price rises are justified only if they are the result of a substantial improvement in goods' consumer properties or if the item does the job better. It is the increase in the social value, not the higher cost that warrants a price review.

The party is keen to prevent any inflation of prices of machinery and equipment on the pretext of "modernization" and efforts to artifically increase commodity production volumes through price "speculation." An unwarranted price increase will not cure economic ills; it will only corrupt working people, inhibit technical progress, and hinder restructuring.

One would agree with A. Komin's remark that economic costs are not entirely due to pricing. But without restructuring the price system one cannot talk of improving the economic system as a whole and creating the requisite conditions for switching to economic methods of economic management.

## NEWSMEN MEET WITH CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY OFFICIALS

LD091957 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 8 June carries a 33-minute feature in the framework of the "builder" series of programs, consisting predominantly of a meeting between Soviet journalist and construction industry officials.

The meeting takes place at the Rzhev Crane Works in Kalinin Oblast, which is still under construction and which when complete will have an important impact on the country's construction industry because of the fundamentally new kind of tower cranes it will be producing. The account of the meeting is preceded by sequences showing the journalists touring the site and talking to foremen and building trust officials about their working methods.

The main officials who speak at the subsequent meeting with journalists are: Aleksandr Grigoryevich Melnikov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department; Yuriy Petrovich Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee; and Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the bureau for machine-building of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The discussion centers on the importance of the working methods in practice at the Rzhev site as a pointer for the construction industry as a whole, and ranges over the role of collective contracting, the question of contract prices and ways of ensuring that deadlines are met. At one point, in response to doubts voiced by a journalist from Uzbekistan about methods being advocated, Batalin briefly delivers some criticism of Uzbekistan's record in construction, claiming that the republic has made far from satisfactory use of its abundant natural resources of building materials and that its working methods, involving much prefabrication rather than direct on-site construction, are wasteful and unnecessary in a warm southern climate.

## CADRES ATTEND COURSE ON CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT

PM291057 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 21, May 87 (Signed to Press 14 May 87) p 3

[Unattributed report: "Training of Leadership Cadres"]

[Text] A course for leading Soviet and and economic cadres on questions concerning the improvement of the economic machinery and the management of the construction industry complex has ended at the Institute for Raising the Qualifications of Leaders at the Top Level of State Management of the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy.

USSR ministers and deputy chairmen of union republic Councils of Ministers followed a special program to study topical problems of economic theory and the strategy and practice of the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the light of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on questions concerning the further improvement of the management of the country's construction industry complex.

The course covered methodological and practical questions concerning the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in planning and construction, the reduction of the time taken to commission projects and the improvement of construction work quality, the improvement of the economic machinery and the organizational structure of management in the construction industry complex, resource savings, and environmental protection.

Particular attention was devoted to the implementation of tasks relating to the broad use of economic methods of management in economic practice, the ensuring of organizational and socioeconomic preparation of sectors for work under the new conditions of economic management, the restructuring of planning and of material and technical supplies, the improvement of price formation, the financial and credit machinery, and the organization of labor remuneration, and the enhancement of the efficiency of foreign economic ties.

Working sessions were held at the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gosstroy, the USSR Gossnab, the USSR State Committee on Prices, the USSR Bank for Financing Capital Investments, and the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, with leaders and specialists taking part in studies of practical questions of improving the economic machinery in the construction industry on the basis of economic methods of management.

There was a broad exchange of advanced experience in the organization of construction industry management.

Those attending the course were addressed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; A.G. Melnikov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department; Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council on Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; V.F. Isayev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department; K.F. Katushev, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; M.S. Zotov, chairman of the Board of the USSR Bank of Financing Capital Investments; deputy ministers and department heads L.A. Bibin, V.M. Serov, O.D. Davydov, L.N. Zarubin, B.N. Gavrilov, N.T. Arkhipets, I.I. Ishchenko, A.V. Chernyshev, and A.N. Komin; senior officials P.I. Poletayev and V.V. Kossov from the USSR Council of Ministers and O.M. Yun from the USSR Gosplan; I.N. Ordzhonikidze, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; eminent scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences; and professors and lecturers from the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy.

## EDITORIAL URGES NEW APPROACH TO TRAINING

PM191421 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 20, May 87 (Signed to Press 7 May 87) p 2

[Editorial: "The Economic Training of Cadres"]

[Text] The problem of improving the economic training of cadres has become most obvious at the stage of the fundamental restructuring of the country's national economy. [paragraph continues]

The new forms of economic management demand a considered approach toward the making of management decisions and the organization of labor and production at all levels and in all links.

The essence of the economic training and retraining of cadres is to instill a need for and acquire new habits of efficient economic management at each enterprise, each organization, and each work place. Under the conditions of expanding democracy — when many management functions are being transferred from superior organs to labor collectives, when each working person acquires a real right to participate in the organization of labor and production with corresponding responsibiity for the end result of economic activity — under these conditions the high standard of cadres' economic literacy becomes an objective necessity.

The system of economic education which operated for many years produced certain successes. But, being an organic extension of economic activity, it also contained all its inherent shortcomings.

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum pointed out that "for decades on end, obsolete methods were preserved in the practice of economic management and administration and, on the other hand, certain efficient economic forms were groundlessly rejected." Based on economic management methods which had outlived their time, the practical economic training of cadres essentially reproduced these methods in the minds of millions of working people. And the task now is to weed out of daily life any relations which do not correspond with society's real maturity and, in many instances, run contrary to its nature.

The Central Committee January plenum produced an exhaustive analysis of shortcomings in economic activity. This analysis also predetermines the direction of the economic training of cadres. The task of accomplishing a decisive turnabout in production and labor incentives in the direction of achieving high economic results and of the national economy's intensive development is arising in all its magnitude.

The practical economic training of cadres to inculcate a keen attitude of safeguarding and augmenting socialist property has been insufficiently purposeful. The formal memorizing of truisms did not help to consolidate each working person's sense of being the custodian of socialist property. The result was a serious slackening in the process of monitoring who was dealing with it and how. The consumerist attitude toward socialist property was the education, when words diverged from deeds and specific practices. Socialist property was frequently eroded by departmentalism and parochialism; it seemed "not to belong to anyone" and to lack a genuine custodian, and in many instances it began to be used for the extraction of unearned incomes. Proof of this objective conclusion drawn by the Central Committee January plenum is provided by the major errors and economic crimes committed in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, in Moscow and in Rostov, and in many other cities.

The economic indifference of cadres in regard to the tasks of the intensive development of production also had an effect on the isolation of economic education from the requirements of socialist economic management. Particularly serious consequences ensued from the restrictions on enterprises' economic accountability rights [khozraschetnyye prava]. This undermined the foundations of material incentives, prevented the achievement of high end results, and led to a decline in people's labor and social activeness and an erosion of discipline and order.

The concept of accelerating socioeconomic development elaborated by the party Central Committee April (1985) plenum and further developed by the 27th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee January Plenum, sets specific goals for the party and all society and contains clearly defined ways to attain them.

The party has launched a struggle to improve the health of society. This course has encountered ardent support in all labor collectives. Hence stems the task of underpinning the tremendous work of restructuring with the solid foundation of conviction. This must be furthered by the system of working people's political and economic studies. A draft CPSU Central Committee resolution on the main guidelines of its restructuring was recently published. It is now being discussed in labor collectives, and the attention of party committees, trade unions, and organizers of political and economic studies is riveted on it.

The party Central Committee directive on the restructuring of political and economic studies raises as one of its main tasks the eradication of formalism and textbook dogmatism and making the cadres' studies more creative. "It must," the draft CPSU Central Committee resolution "Basic Guidelines for the Restructuring of the System of Working People's Political and Economic Studies" points out, "arm Communists and working people with the skill to think and act in a politically mature fashion, arouse keen interest in theoretical knowledge, teach its practical application, and help to disseminate and affirm socialist ideals, the socialist way of life, and the advanced forms of the organization of labor and production."

Economic studies are a most important component of the political education, improved qualifications, and retraining of cadres. This important role is determined by the developing and accelerating process of reconstructing the national economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress, by the transition to modern methods of economic management, and by the dissemination of progressive forms of labor organization. This process demands new approaches to the improvement of cadres' qualifications and the shaping of their economic thinking. In line with the rising standard of production and the new character of its organization and development as determined by the concept of restructuring, it is necessary to teach millions of working people anew, to train working people who combine high standards of professionalism with political maturity and economic literacy.

Practical requirements at the contemporary stage of the development of productive forces and production relations dictate the need to combine mass economic studies with professional studies and incorporate them in the state system for the improvement of cadres' qualifications and their retraining. They must become the most important link in the uniform system of continuous education now taking shape in our country.

This condition predetermines the elimination of the gap between words and deeds, and aims at a close link between studies on the one hand and the new methods and forms of economic management and each working person's practical production activity on the other.

The time in which we are living, the tasks we are solving now, and the long-term tasks facing society make it necessary to constantly maintain workers' competence at the level of modern demands, to constantly supplement and improve specific knowledge in the spheres of economics, science and technology, management and labor organization, and the solution of social questions.

The draft CPSU Central Committee resolution defines the forms of improving the qualifications of workers and engineering staff and their periodical retraining. Study-course combines, vocational and technical schools, faculties, institutes, and other specialized education institutions will become retraining centers. The retraining system must be organically supplemented by working people's studies through various permanently operational forms of continuous production-economic training directly at enterprise, association, institution, or organization level.

The main forms of such studies must be schools for socialist economic management, production-economic seminars, and universities of technical and economic knowledge. The transformation of the schools of communist labor into schools of socialist economic management is not just a formal action. It expresses a profound ideological meaning and predetermines a completely new approach to the organization of studies and the preparation and holding of study sessions.

The schools of socialist economic management must be formed on the basis of team, shop, or stock unit collectives or workrs sharing the same vocation. Together with workers and kolkhoz members, these schools could accept team leaders, foremen, and specialists either belonging to grassroots economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] labor collectives or providing backup services for their work.

The proposed new procedure for the formation of the basic and broadest link in economic studies presents organizers and propaganda workers with a number of important tasks. They stem both from the very idea of and procedure for the formation of schools of socialist economic management, and from the multifaceted avenues for the radical restructuring of the economic machinery and the implementation of the acceleration policy elaborated by the party.

Economic studies can now no longer be organized on the basis of the monotonous repetition of truisms. In the course of preparing for study sessions, propaganda workers can no longer limit themselves to quickly reading a hastily drafted outline on some topic or other. The economic problems raised by study course are rather too strongly interlinked. The economic management machinery which has been set in motion is rather too broad and diverse. As the economic independence of enterprises develops, as economic accountability [khozraschetnyye] rights are expanded, and as responsibility in all areas of economic management and production activity is enhanced, there is an inexorable growth in the need to analyze them in depth and to make the audience aware of the factors of intensification, restructuring, and acceleration in their totality.

The role of propaganda cadres will be enhanced under these conditions. The main criterion of their maturity will be ideological conviction and competence in regard to the tasks and ways of accelerating the economic development of the enterprise, the sector, and the national economy in their interconnection. This will demand a new level of understanding and profound knowledge of all the elements and methods of economic management.

Unfortunately, there have been no substantial changes in this context in some propaganda workers' economic thinking. [paragraph continues]

editorial office still receives letters from propaganda workers expressing a
stent request: Could the newspaper publish study material on various topics,
ing prepared answers to possible questions from the audience? It must be admitted
we did publish such material in the past. The demands made to propaganda workers
not too great: Learn by heart or paraphrase in their own words the text of the
: elaboration" without, as a rule, making extensive use of primary sources or of
ature and specialized articles which expound at length and examine all aspects of
ems and specific practical experience.

ly, there must be an end to this practice of "spoon-feeding." And a major role
must be played by the methodological offices of enterprises and ministries.
ially since the propaganda workers themselves, under pressure from the objective
mic processes occurring within the national economy, are becoming increasingly
nced of the obvious damage being done by this type of methodological materials and
ineffectiveness.

irst issues of our weekly carried a questionnaire addressed to our readers. It
contained the following question: "What materials do you use most in raising the
ard of your economic knowledge?" It is gratifying that, as the replies made
, the readers' interest is not limited to various local materials. Here are a few
e many hundres of replies.

eer-economist N. Khokhlun from the "Novopolotsknefteorgsintez" Production
iation: "All the matrial carried under the 'Discussion' rubric." Let us note
the topical range of this material, as our readers have seen for themselves, is
extensive. It covers all the elements of the economic machinery --from the
-formation system to the interconnection of sectorial and territorial management.
a brief review of the questions raised in the course of discussions by our authors
onomic leaders, specalists in enterprises and sectorial and central management
s, and scientists -- took almost three pages of text in our previous issue. And
r opinion this material could be of definite interest to propaganda workers.

are a few more replies: "Material on the new and highly efficient methods of
mic management helps in raising the level of economic knowledge." This was
en by E. Krivich, fitter in a motor transport enterprise from Sochi City.
rial on savings and thrift, articles by scientists on the processes of
eration and restructuring," V. Kalinovskiy, shift leader at "Azot" in
odonetsk, reported. V. Golovanova, deputy chief of the Planning and Economic
tment at the Kupyansk casting plant: "Material on the improvement of the economic
nery." Reader Tazhikhanov, bookkeeper at the "Kommuna" Kolkhoz (Chimkent
t): "All material is of great help." V. Kokurin from the Gorkiy Aviation
iation is quite brief in his reply to the question: "Everything." We would take
o much space if we were to attempt to quote all the replies received from people
ing to study in depth economic problems and management experience. This has
e a vitally important need for anyone who senses his enhanced role in
ucturing. We take this opportunity to thank all readers who expressed their
ons in the questionnaire.

any hundreds of qustionnaires include a small pile of answers which cannot fail to
concern, since the only request they contain is for topic elaborations. The
of the Labor and Wages Department in a petrochemical enterprise (no names
oned on this occasion) is interested precisely in "cribbing." The propaganda
r has no desire to go beyond this; the main wish expressed to the editorial office
publish more quickly, without delays.

Much has to be done now to effect a fundamental change in propaganda workers' approach to the organization and conduct of study sessions. Propaganda workers must have a broad outlook in the sphere of economic and social transformation. They must constantly supplement their arsenal of economic knowledge. It is necessary to create sound conditions for their fruitful work in schools of socialist economic management, attention must be paid to them, and creative initiatives must be supported. Propaganda workers perform their social duty by preparing for study sessions, as a rule, in their free time from work. And this must be borne in mind by economic leaders and trade union committees responsible for the planning and organization of production-economic studies and the improvement of their quality and fruitfulness.

The EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA editorial office will actively assist in raising the standards of propaganda workers' training.

Effective study sessions will be helped by much of the material published by the newspaper on problems of the comprehensive intensification of production, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the enhancement of output quality, and the activation of the human factor. Material to be published by EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, suitable for both propaganda workers and audiences, will provide broad coverage of advanced experience of economic work and practical economic management by labor collectives under conditions of complete economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, the improvement of foreign economic activity, and the experience of fraternal countries.

The rubric "In Aid of Propaganda Workers" will not disappear from our pages. It will acquire new content, in line with modern demands. Using the example of work experience by the best propaganda workers, we will describe how to prepare for and conduct study sessions. In our view, the investigation of superficially organized study sessions failing to meet the tasks of improving the system of economic studies will also be useful. After all, a formal approach to this important work will only discredit the directive regarding the shaping of the awareness of millions of working people and the alteration of their mentality and thinking in the spirit of restructuring. And this is one of the key tasks of ideological activity.

## NEED TO SPEED FARM FREIGHT TURNAROUND NOTED

PM261353 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 May 87 p 2

[Yu. Vasilyev report: "Faster Freight Car Traffic. From the Session of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the USSR Ministry of Railways Collegiums"]

[Text] Spring work is still under way in the country's fields, but working people in the agro-industrial complex are already thinking about the transportation of the future harvest. Particular hopes are placed in this regard on railroad transport, whose collective is one of the agro-industrial complex' main partners. More than 110,000 enterprises and organizations in agriculture and the food and processing industries use the services of the most widespread and most economical type of transport -- the railroads. Each year, they receive about 9 million freight cars, whose fast loading and unloading provide the basis for businesslike collaboration between two of the largest sectors in the country's national economy.

Unfortunately, this alliance frequently suffers through errors by negligent people, which disrupt the scheduled pace of train movements along the steel highways and cause prolonged idle time for freight cars on railroad sidings. [paragraph continues]

Idle time is particularly long in the unloading of vegetables, meat, tobacco, mineral fertilizers, and construction materials, and local agro-industrial committees pay large fines to the railroads for it. This occurs primarily through poorly organized work at bases, inadequate mechanization of the loading and unloading process, and the lag in the construction and expansion of storage facilities.

It was noted at the session of the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the USSR Ministry of Railways Collegiums that the average idle time of freight cars in the course of output loading and unloading exceeds the set norm by 1.29 hours in the RSFSR, 1.26 hours in the Kazakh SSR, 2.43 hours in Azerbaijan, 2.5 hours in Uzbekistan, and 3.59 hours in Turkmenia. These delays are also attributable to the fact that the railroads do not always supply everywhere prompt and accurate information on train movements and freight car availablity, which gives consignees no opportunity to organize their fast unloading.

Let us add to this that some railroad divisions lack the resources to cope with freight car unloading and divert kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers for this purpose. Because of inadequate collaboration between railroad workers and the State Agro-Industrial Committee's motor transport enterprises, large quantities of unshipped freight accumulate on these railroads. The common cause is hindered by the low shift index of loading and unloading machinery belonging to the railroad divisions and its frequent breakdowns.

The resolution adopted at the joint session of the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the USSR Ministry of Railways Collegiums outlines measures aimed at strengthening businesslike cooperation between the two departments. The main aim of this cooperation is to speed up the movement of freight cars carrying agro-industrial complex shipments and to sharply reduce the idle time of transport facilities awaiting loading or unloading. Particular attention was paid to planning the transportation of agricultural freight and eliminating particularly long-distance shipments, cross hauls, and other irrational transport operations. Joint contract-agreements will be concluded by railroad divisions and oblast agro-industrial committees providing for joint repair work to tracks, locomotives, cranes, cars, and tractor equipment.

The strengthening of businesslike cooperation between working people in the railroads and the agro-industrial complex will make it possible even this year to significantly speed up the transportation of freight, reduce the cost of freight handling, and improve the utilization of freight car pool.

## MOSCOW COMMENTS ON PROGRESS OF SPRING FIELD WORK

LD272244 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 May 87

[Aleksandr Ruvinskiy Commentary]

[Text] One-quarter of spring grain crops still remained to be sown on kolkhozes and sovkhozes by the beginning of this week. The USSR Central Statistical Administration reported today that various spring crops have been sown on over 107 million hectares. The fact that one-third of this entire area was sown over the past week, while sowing has been in progress for over 2 months altogether has great importance. So this week may be regarded as the climax, with 5 million hectares being sown daily. Never before has such an area been sown during the spring sowing season. To this end many reserves were brought into play, to make up the time lost owing to the late spring. Many farms were able to organize not only a two-shift system but even a three-shift system.

Not even the rains which fell last week hampered the good rate of work. These perceptibly replenished the reserves of moisture, including places where moisture was in short supply. The sowing of grain crops has now been completed in many oblasts: in Lipetsk and Kaliningrad oblasts, throughout the southern Ukraine, and in Khabarovsk kray.

But if the sowing is now being done to the usual time-scale in Siberia and the Urals, there is some divergence from optimum deadlines in Dagestan, Chechen-Ingushetia, Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, and certain other oblasts. It must be noted that the planting of sugar beets has virtually been completed. More corn for grain has now been sown than last year, while corn for silage is being sown slowly, although it plays a very important part in the fodder balance.

It is already possible to speak of the harvest, too. In the south of Central Asia, the reaping of winter barley is under way. Such important work as top-dressing and hoeing of the sown area, and protection against agricultural pests -- a matter which is especially topical in conditions of well-moistened soil -- is being done.

The procurement of feed is also in progress over a large area, throughout Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and in southern Russia and the southern Ukraine.

## SPRING CROP SOWING ACTIVITIES REPORTED

LD271905 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 27 May 87

[Text] The country's farms are striving to finish spring sowing more quickly. Therefore they are using equipment in two shifts in order not to lose even an hour of the fine weather. In the last week, spring crops were sown on almost 35 million hectares. According to USSR Central Statistical Administration data, spring crops occupy 107 million hectares of fields, which is 75 percent of the plan. Rainy weather has complicated work. Under these conditions the successful farms are those which are utilizing equipment and sowing first sections drying out quickly after the rains.

For the most part the sowing of cotton, sugar beets, and sunflowers has been completed. Farms are completing the placement of flax seeds. Potato and vegetable growers have a great deal of work to do. At present potatoes have been planted on 2 million hectares. Slightly over 1 million hectares of fields have been taken up by vegetables. There is a great deal of sowing to be done at the moment. Farms are repairing harvesting equipment, while in the south they are already cutting early grain crops and procuring hay. All of this work is important and needs to be carried out on time and with quality.

## MOSCOW TV REPORTS WORK TO COMBAT FLOODS IN TYUMEN

LD292158 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 May 87

[From the "Vreyma" newscast; report over video by unidentified correspondent]

[Text] [Announcer] In Tyumen Oblast a high degree of organization and self-possession have been pitted agains the spring flood waters.

[Correspondent] [Video shows flooded village streets, waterlogged fields, boats being used down village streets] Over 500,000 hectares of arable land, meadows, and pastures are under water -- this is almost one-half of all cultivable land. Tens of farms have suffered; the flooding of the rivers cut off 80 villages and hamlets. We went round several rayons, and nowhere did we see any panic or confusion. The afflicted have been hospitably received and accommodated in neighboring villages, while herds are being driven nearer to the forests up on to higher ground. Serious corrections have also had to be made to the progress of field work: sowing is being carried out virtually around the clock. The farmers in the oblast are faced with a very important task, that of gathering a higher yield from the lands which have been left unaffected in order to compensate for the losses. Particular attention is being given to sowing grasses and to fodder procurement.

The oblast center has remained virtually unaffected by the elements; it reliably protected itself from the river by dikes: over 40 km of these dikes have already been built in the town. But there are streets whose inhabitants are compelled to get to the roads by boat.

Now the melted water of the Siberian rivers is moving northward with all its terrible force, toward the oil and gas regions of Tyumen Oblast. Labor collectives are taking all necessary measures to reduce to minimum the damage from the spring flood waters.

## TASS UPDATES CONTINUING FLIGHT OF MIR STATION

LD091624 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 9 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS -- A TASS correspondent reprots from the mission control centre:

Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin continue their space flight. They performed the first experiment with the use of an orbital international "Roentgen" observatory installed on the "Kvant" module.

The supernova in the great Magellanic Cloud which flared up last February was chosen as the object for observation. The cosmonouts started preparing for space walk. They are checking the necessary equipment, space suits.

A medical check of the crew will be made at the end of the working day today. Its aim is to appraise the state of the cardiovascular systems of the cosmonauts in making physical exercises. Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin feel well. The flight of the orbital research complex "Mir" proceeds normally.

## ICEBREAKER REACHES SITE FOR NEW ARCTIC STATION

LD100721 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 10 Jun 87

[Text] Laptev Sea, Icebreaker Sibir June 10 TASS -- TASS special correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov radioes:

In dense fog conditions in the northern part of the Arctic Laptev Sea, the Soviet icebreaker Sibir has reached the ice floe which is intended for the setting up of a new drifting scientific station "Severny Polyus (North Pole)-29."

Tuesday night Valeriy Lukin, the head of the station, and the directors of the high latitudinal voyage, surveyed from helicopter the landing site for the last time.

The largest of the earlier planned floes had not withstood days-long compression and broke up.

The so-called reserve version was chosen: a two-year-old oval ice field with an area of about half a square km and with an ice thickness of 2.5 to 4.5 metres.

The atomic-powered icebreaker covered the final miles of the route with exceptional caution. The captain of the icebreaker, Zigfrid Vibakh, took measures to avoid collision with the floe and to prevent breaking it up in the fog. All on-board and space navigation facilities were brought into operation.

Scarcely had there been a clearing in the fog when the icebreaker-based helicopter made landing on the ice floe and designated the area of an ice pier with flares. The icebreaker reached the final objective of its mission upon covering 4,062 miles from Murmansk across three Arctic seas and the central polar basin and the geographical point of the North Pole. Thirty-five hundred miles of the route were covered in ice which in some areas was reckoned impassable.

The voyage continued exactly for one month and one day.

The crew of the nuclear-powered icebreaker and the members of scientific expeditionary parties began to unload equipment and stocks of the North Pole-29 station onto the ice.

A complex of dwelling houses and observation laboratories fit for the life and work of 26 polar researchers are to be installed within the next two days.

One could see from the height of the navigating bridge how the untrodden whiteness of the snow was cut by the first track: A tractor was hauling the first house of the future station, assembled on deck, and a radio house. Soon call signs will be tapped and a first weather report will be transmitted from there.

## ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION RETURNS TO VLADIVOSTOK

OW291127 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 26 May 87

[From the Vremya Newscast; L. Savitskiy video report]

[Text] Participants in the 32d Soviet Antarctic expedition have returned home to Vladivostok in the motorship Baykal.

[Begin recording] [Savitskiy] The motorship Baykal has returned to its home port Vladivostok after an absence of 6 months. [Video shows MS Baykal, shoreline, another ship] Her crew replaced the winterers at the Soviet Antarctic stations and, together with other ships, took part in marine geophysical research in the severe Antarctic waters.

The ship is now lying at its mooring. Two hundred and sixty scientists, pilots, and workers in the most diverse professions have returned home. Despite the bleak weather, they are in a joyful mood; one can say that a real festival is taking place. [video shows people on deck, port building] In a few hours' time, the first group of winterers will be flying here to Leningrad, Moscow, and other cities. [Video Shows Savitskiy talking to M.M. Polyakov, identified by screen caption as chief of the Soyuz Base] What was the most interesting thing in your last expedition?

[Polyakov] The Soviet Antarctic Expedition had a large volume of geological and geophysical work. Three new bases were opened: The Druzhnaya-3 base in the area of the Weddell Sea in Western Antarctica and the Progress and Druzhnaya-4 bases in the area of the Commonwealth Sea [More Sodruzhestva]. These bases were opened to make it possible for us to conduct geological and geophysical work in future areas where this work could not be done from the existing bases and stations.

A great deal of helps was rendered by our Soviet aviators, headed by Yevgeniy Dmitriyevich Kravchenko, commander of the team of pilots. So, thanks to our aviation and the harmonious labor collective, all the planned work of the 32d Soviet Antarctic expedition was implemented in full, and even overfulfilled. [end recording]

## MOSCOW TV ON HIGH-PRECISION INSTRUMENT SHORTAGES

OW062100 [Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0630 GMT on 25 May carries the regular "Acceleration" program presented by N. Gluzova. Video shows electron microscope, mass spectrometers, other equipment made by the Sumy "Elektron"

Industrial Association; Gluzova says that only 25 percent of scientific needs for this equipment are met. She interviews V.T. Cherepin, corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, who says that manufacturing of scientific instruments is the primary element of any scientific and technical progress and reiterates the importance of instruments and the Sumy "Elektron" Plant. Cherepin adds: "This plant determines the quality of science -- study of materials, biology, physics, and many others -- and in this sense determines the quality of everything produced by science. "Video shows mass spectrometers for study of surfaces at the Institute of Physics of Metals of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, then cuts to an automated line for application of anticavitation surface coating at the (Lepsa) Kievtraktorodetal Industrial Association. Aleksandr Shalay, candidate of technical sciences and one of the creators of the automated line, says: "New instruments are needed to control the quality of a coating and its structure. They should allow deep penetration into the surface at the atomic and molecular level, unlike conventional instruments -- microscopes -- which we have and are used to working with." He adds: We need information, and we need it very quickly, because millions of these sleeves," he shows one, "are made, and if a technological process is breached somewhere and we learn about this 3-4 hours later, some of these sleeves will go into production and then we will learn -- only after a few years, only after they have been used on a tractor -- that some of them were defective. An 'intelligent' instrument, on the other hand, allows us to control the production technology immediately -- metal structure, impurities in the metal, roughness of a surface which is machined with special diamond and other tools, as well as the materials used for new surface coatings -- those applied by vacuum depositing, plasma spraying, and other methods."

Video cuts to Gluzova interviewing Lyalko, general director of the "Elektron" Association, who says: "The question of quality has become a problem only because we simply did not use microscopes in the technological processes where they should have been used. Now state acceptance has created special conditions regarding quality. If our electron microscopes and mass spectrometers had been used in the technology of the enterprises where materials are created and integrated circuits are produced, there would be no need to create the large laboratories for output control that are being organized now, and we would have considerably fewer problems." He adds: "Unfortunately, we had to waste a lot of time to persuade, first of all, the Gosplan. Let them not be offended, but there was a time, several years ago, when we had to argue that it was a particularly big mistake when a fund allocation was taken away from our plant in the last 5-year plan. It is good that acceleration's time has come; it is good that these problems are now understood by everyone. A lot of time, however, has been lost."

Lyalko then speaks about acceleration at the association: "It consists of three elements: First, accelerating the development of the instruments not being produced yet. We have already received the first results. While it used to take 6-7 years to develop some instruments, we now develop them within 1 and 1/2-2 years; there are some examples -- these are (?industrial minicomputers) and others. Second, ensuring the technical reequipment of our enterprise. We have the allocated funds; moreover, by means of self-financing we can earn money, and we know what we have to do to earn more. There are, however, a number of situations where we cannot realize our requirements due to the lack of certain equipment. This was the second element. Third, it would be an intolerable occasion if the decision on creation of a scientific base remained unimplemented.

"We changed to self-financing on 1 January. It gives us the opportunity to earn the money needed for technical requirement. We can earn all we need, about 30 million roubles."

Video cuts to interview with Cherepin. He says: "What does it mean -- producing high-class instruments? Doing so requires high-class equipment. It makes people grow; it opens an international market, hard currency, direct ties, and mutual repayment; and all these things are possible in principle. One must just do things very quickly, because we cannot afford to drag discussion on for years."

Gluzova then recalls a visit of German specialists to "Elektron". They had a bad impression of the conditions of machine tools in the mechanical shops. Video shows the shop, and Gluzova interviews workers and N. Grachev, the shop chief. They say that it is important to have new modern precision machine tools. Existing machine tools are outdated, the newest being 10 years old.

Video cuts to "flexible automated system" in a mechanical shop and shows the production line and a robotic manipulator. Gluzova interviews technical personnel of the "Tekhnopribor" Scientific Industrial Association. They speak of difficulties of combining machine tools and robots into flexible automated systems. Engineer Ustimov says: "It depends on the Experimental Scientific Research Institute of Metal Cutting Machine Tools, which is in charge of all these questions."

Video cuts back to Gluzova interviewing Lyalko, who says: "What happens in many enterprises? They produce a combine, which responds to the need for a most unique laboratory involving unique precision work -- analytical, and genuinely scientific work. There also are instruments that provide for some narrowly limited tasks. These are two different things. Considering that our industrial capacities for production of scientific instruments are so weak, we are now forced to produce these types of combines. In order to solve the problems of technical progress, now provided for only by our instruments, at least two more plants are needed."

Gluzova asks Lyalko a question about the high cost of instruments. Lyalko answers that new and better instruments must cost more than older ones. Video cuts back to Cherepin, who says that the use quality of instruments -- sensitivity, resolving power, and others -- is not practically reflected now by the instrument price. He says that the basic parameters of the instruments and their improvement must determine the price.

Video then cuts to Gluzova interviewing scientists at the Institute of Nuclear Research of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. They complain of difficulties in procuring instruments:

Physicist Khomenko says: "The problem must be solved at the level of the All-Union Supply Organization [akademsnab], and one has to use one's personal contacts. This is complicated, and I would say illegal. Another, more radical way of solving the problem is needed today. Moreover, we are not the only ones who need these instruments. I know that all scientific centers and physics institutes of our branch of science use the same means to procure these instruments, and it creates extreme difficulties." Asked, how long it took him to fight for an instrument, Khomenko answers: "Let us say, about 10 years." He adds: "I believe that a plant should be flexible and able to modify its goods depending on our tasks."

Cherepin then discusses difficulties in deviations from an approved research program and says: "The shortages must be eliminated, and the quality needed by science must be guaranteed."

Video then cuts to the Lyalko interview; Gluzova says that new specialized instruments have been developed by "Elektron," but there are shortages. Lyalko explains this by the fact that there has never been any research done into actual requirements for instruments.

Video cuts to Cherepin who says that the "Elektron" should have its own research institute. Lyalko discusses the obstacles and ways to speed up the construction of the institute. He says: "To solve the problem of the construction of our scientific technical center, to move the matter from deadlock, some development in some spheres should be stopped, however difficult it is to speak about this. For example, the possibilities of our construction combine are limited, of course. Traditionally, they were not meant for the instrument manufacturers. It is necessary to look into it and direct some of their capacities for construction of our base. If we do not solve this problem, there will be no quality chemistry; there will be no quality (?shostka) film; and there will be no quality things which we could provide for if we were manufacturing the instruments that we have not developed, the instruments that would be controlling quality and that would guarantee quality.

"The restructuring demands only our greatest efforts to prevail over conservatism and stagnation in understanding the problem, which should now be the main problem of the state."

Gluzova concludes by speaking about parameters of future instruments developed by the Sumy plant, saying that their quality is confirmed by the contract concluded with the Japanese Hitachi company, and reiterates the need for high-quality instruments.

## TASS DETAILS NEW ILYUSHIN JUMBO JET

LD102007 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 10 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS -- The jumbo jet Il-96-300 will take a place of prominence among airliners of Aeroflot. As its predecessor, the wide-fuselage Il-86, it was developed by the Ilyushin Test Design Office headed by Genrikh Novozhilov. The description and a model of the new "representative" of the famous family of IL planes are on display at the Soviet pavilion of the International Air Show to open in Paris tomorrow. The plane prototype is being readied for ground and flying tests.

A TASS reporter learnt at the design office that the new liner will carry 300 passengers (its trademark reflects this), as well as luggage, mail and freight. The IL-86 which has been successfully operating on long-distance international lines since July 1981, flies over 350 passengers. However, it is inferior to the newcomer in many indices.

The "birth" of the IL-96-300 reflects the modern trend in the development of civil aviation, its desire for operating spacious jumbo jets on long-distance routes. They offer more comfort to passengers making long flights and at the same time are very economical thanks to low consumption of expensive fuel.

The new IL plane and its predecessor IL-86 are similar in outer appearance, but many technical improvements are incorporated in the design of the IL-96-300 and its control systems. They resulted, among other things, in cutting its own weight. Equipped with four powerful and economical engines, the plane will operate on lines of between 4,000 and 9,000 kilometres with a cruising speed of 850-900 km/hr.

The most sophisticated equipment will enable the new aerobus to make fully automated flights under difficult weather conditions over any area of the world. The plane will be flown by a three-men crew: chief pilot, second pilot and flight engineer.

## ARMY PAPER STRESSES ONE-MAN COMMAND

PM091109 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthening One-Man Command"]

[Text] In exercising the leadership of the Armed Forces the Communist Party and its Central Committee unswervingly pursue a line toward the consolidation of one-man command -- one of the most important principles of Soviet military building elaborated by V.I. Lenin. This is required by the interests of improving the standard of combat readiness of units and ships, strengthening discipline, and reliably defending the gains of socialism. The military organism cannot develop normally and operate successfully in an atmosphere of laxity, inefficiency, and low exactingness.

The essence of one-man command is that the commanders (chiefs) of various levels are invested with full administrative power with respect to their subordinates and they take decisions, give orders and instructions, an organize work to fulfill them. But one-man command is not only power, not only large rights. It is also the commander's readiness to assume responsibility for people, for his own decisions, and for his own actions. Commanders bear full personal responsibility to the Communist Party and Soviet Government for the constant combat and mobilization readiness of the subunits, units, and ships entrusted to them, and for the combat and political training, education, martial discipline, and political and moral state of the personnel. Power and responsibility are two aspects of single command which should be merged together in the commander's activity.

Examining the circumstances connected with the recent violation of the country's air space, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo stressed once again the fundamental importance of the task of resolutely improving the standard of the Armed Forces' combat readiness and discipline, skillfully managing the troops, and ensuring their constant ability to halt any encroachments on the Soviet state's sovereignty. And it is primarily the one-man commanders, invested with great authority and great rights for the purpose and educated in a spirit of supreme responsiblility for the cause of the motherland's defense, who are called on to resolve this task.

One-man command in the Soviet Armed Forces is built, strengthened, and developed on a party basis. That means that the one-man commander is the representative of the Communist Party and the Soviet state among the troops, their agent, the active champion of their line, the strict keeper of Soviet laws and military statutes. That means that in all his activity to implement the party's decisions and its policy in the field of the country's defense and security, the commander relies on the support and authority of the political organs, party organizations, and all Communists and on the efforts of the public. It is this which ensures a politically mature, highly skilled leadership and rules out instances of unadulterated excesses of administration and the abuse of power. The new draft of the CPSU Program approved by the 27th party congress stated: "The CPSU deems it necessary to continue to intensify its organizing and guiding influence on the life and activity of the Armed Forces, to strengthen one-man command, to enhance the role and influence of the Soviet Army and Navy political organs and party organizations, and to seek to ensure that the vital link between the army and people becomes even firmer."

What must be done to strengthen one-man command today -- in the period of restructuring and renewal?

Above all we must consistently and persistently pursue a cadres policy which accords with the increase requirements of the time and prevent the slightest deviations from Lenin's principles for the selection, placement, and education of cadres. Ideological staunchness, firm moral convictions, closeness to people, profound knowledge of the theory and practice of military matters, a genuinely innovatory approach toward the solution of the tasks which have been set, the ability to see shortcomings and to build collective work to eliminate them and to inspire people with his personal example — those are the main criteria in all transfers of military cadres, those are the qualities without which a commander is inconceivable today, under the conditions of restructuring.

Strengthening one-man command means tirelessly developing these valuable personal qualities in commanders and instilling in them a sense of supreme personal responsibility for the matter in hand and for the motherland's security. But it sometimes happens that with his promotion to a lofty post an officer or general ceases to be the target for education. But the process of education has no final stage. The higher the post, the more imperative the need to improve the personal qualities of the leader and his military-professional training. The commander is the personification of will, resolve, persistence, and firmness in implementing the decisions which have been taken.

The consolidation of one-man command is inconceivable without the all-around enhancement of military cadres' responsibility for the implementation of the party's policy and for the state of affairs in the sector entrusted to them. In what specifically should all this be expressed? In party principledness, in the struggle against weakening and oversimplification in combat training and formalism and red tape in work; in a conscientious attitude toward one's statutory duties; in the desire to achieve good results in combat and political training and the consolidation of discipline; in selfless work aimed at achieving that goal; and, of course, in the strictest monitoring of execution without which, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, "there is real death in military matters."

The consolidation of one-man command presupposes raising exactingness toward the commanders themselves on the one hand and the all-around support of commanders' exactingness on the other. This is all the more essential in that over recent years this line has far from always been observed. Exactingness and yet more exactingness are more necessary than ever. Exactingness and control now act as the most important instrument for managing people, as a means of disciplining them. Only in an atmosphere of exactingness and control can subordinates' high responsibility for the matter in hand be formed. It is necessary to introduce actively into the servicemen's consciousness the idea of the sacredness of the commander's order: The commander's order is law for his subordinates and should be fulfilled unquestioningly, precisely, and promptly.

The party-mindedness of one-man command and its political and social essence oblige commanders unswervingly to observe the statutes and our moral norms. Top-ranking leaders, political organs, and party organizations, in accordance with the rights granted to them, must make communist leaders strictly answerable through the party for instances of simplifications in combat training, the concealment of negative phenomena, window dressing, the abuse of their official position, distortions of disciplinary practice, and personal lack of discipline. Without this tough exactingness headway is inconceivable today. A positive part is played by listening to the reports and accounts of communist leaders at sessions of party committees and bureaus. Experience shows that this practice produces the proper return.

Without one-man command there is no army, no discipline, no high combat readiness essential for battle and for victory. Strengthening one-man command, safeguarding the authority of one-man commanders by every means, and helping them in their work means displaying effective concern for raising the combat readiness of the Army and Navy.